

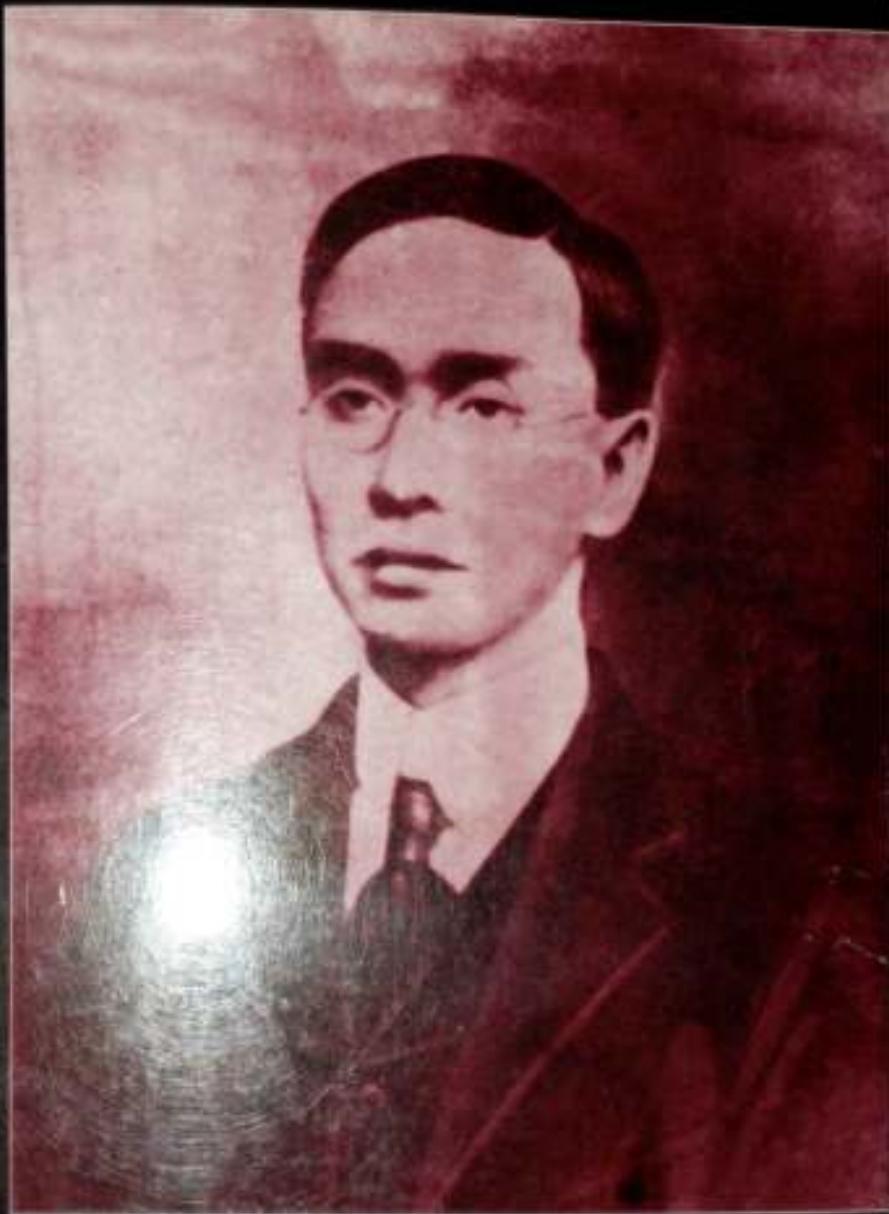
SHIFU

Soul

of

Chinese

Anarchism



EDWARD S. KREBS

Shifu,
Soul of Chinese Anarchism

師復墓

Shifu, Soul of Chinese Anarchism

Edward S. Krebs

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To Sylvia

*It's been a journey.
My good fortune is
that you're a great traveler.*

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Acknowledgments

My recollections of the experiences that have produced this book begin with many sessions spent with Mo Jipeng at his home in Taipei in 1971-72. Among these, two stand out. First was the time the eighty-six-year-old anarchist fell off the little stool on which he was perched, but he popped up—almost literally popped up—laughing. The other was when Mo Jipeng lit a candle to Shifu. I thought he meant to parody the religious superstition that the anarchists rejected out of hand, but then I saw that Mo was crying. Mo's memoir of Shifu was a major source for me in the early stages of this study. Although that memoir has been supplemented—and on some points corrected—by the wealth of materials on anarchism reproduced in China during the past decade, Mo Jipeng taught me much about Shifu. A few weeks after I returned to the United States in summer 1972, I learned that Mo Jipeng had died suddenly. Besides my sadness over the loss of a new friend, I felt fortunate to have had such a direct contact with the Chinese anarchist movement. Our work was greatly helped by Xu Fei, who bridged the gap between Mo Jipeng's Cantonese and my *guoyu*, and by the Mo family, who facilitated those pleasant encounters.

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During the 1970s academe underwent many vagaries and vicissitudes, and my career was directly affected. I have spent much of it as what used to be called an "academic butterfly." As an independent, one sometimes feels the lack

of consistent stimulus from colleagues. I have been fortunate, on the other hand, to have had many opportunities to teach and to enjoy the company of other scholars. I feel a special debt to the Department of History at Georgia State University in Atlanta, where I have enjoyed several short-term appointments, an unfailingly comfortable and stimulating collegiality, and access to a good university library.

Usually an author saves thanks to his spouse for a few lines at the end of a preface. That I put my thanks to Sylvia here is fitting: this suggests the importance of her role in my effort on this book. It was partly at her suggestion, and always with her total involvement, that the two of us in 1984-85 began a series of residences in China, sometimes as English teachers. In these experiences we have learned much more about China and its people, and we have done this at ground level—it is an aspect of a butterfly's freedom to fly fairly close to the ground. We were in China in the spring of 1989, and the events of that time convinced me that involvement with China was essential in my life, and that I should give it my full attention. The later chapters on the anarchist-Bolshevik debates and struggles grew directly out of my own reaction to spring 1989 in China. Although a number more years have passed, that recommitment to China brought me back to this project.

I have several people to thank for their contributions to my work on Shifu. Arif Dirlik was one of the first people to take an interest in the work I had done on anarchism. He has always shared materials and ideas, and he has read parts of the manuscript. Peter Zarrow has read most of the manuscript and has given valuable suggestions and welcome encouragement. Professors Zarrow and Dirlik both have produced major studies of anarchism in China. More than could be indicated by the many citations in the pages that follow, I am indebted to both for their insights and suggestions on our common concerns.

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of the University of Leeds, who made helpful comments on chapter 2 in manuscript form, and whose work on Chen Duxiu, the Trotskyist movement, and on Communist activity in Jiangsu has shown the variety and importance of discordant political movements after 1927.

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Douglas Reynolds of Georgia State University has given friendship and support, again over many years. His enthusiasm makes him worth an entire department of stimulating colleagues. I must mention Prof. Reynolds' relief appearance in the bottom of the ninth as a special contribution. Just when I thought I was at the end of this project, he found the time to give a close reading to the whole manuscript. His urging that I review it all produced one last overhaul, which I believe has made my effort better connected and more readable.

For the most recent contributions I wish to thank Susan McEachern, senior editor at Rowman & Littlefield, for her prompt consideration of this book as a submission. Karen Johnson and Matt Hammon have given production and editorial assistance, and Mary Bearden read the manuscript closely and constructively. Thanks also to Elizabeth Adams, of the History Department at Georgia State University, whose expertise and care have given this book its visual appeal.

The subject of this book serves as a reminder that the history those in authority would have us learn is not all there is to it. We must keep the maps that show the roads not taken and explore those roads from time to time. They still may offer a way to a better future. It is not simply a convention to say that

any errors remaining are my own responsibility. I look forward to hearing from anyone interested in anarchism in China, and to all, especially to Chinese colleagues, I ask, "Zhi zheng."

A Note on Romanization and Usages

Pinyin romanization is used throughout the text and the notes. In several cases I have chosen to apply usages unfamiliar to most American readers for some Chinese figures and terms probably more familiar by other names. Guomindang is the same as Kuomintang (and GMD as KMT). Sun Zhongshan here is Sun Yatsen, and Jiang Jieshi is Jiang Kaishek (or Chiang Kai-shek). I have used Zhang Taiyan for the person also known as Zhang Binglin. Guangzhou is the city generally known outside China as Canton. Changjiang, Long River, is the name used in China for the river generally called the Yangzi (or Yangtze) in the United States, although the latter is also used in China for the lower course of that river.

I hope these usages will not inconvenience any reader. I believe it is useful for Americans to become accustomed to forms and references familiar to most Chinese.

Chapter 1

"Daring to Die": A Life of Shifu

For the last three years of his life, he was Shifu. This was the person, or the persona, that he wanted to be and the name by which he wished to be remembered. During his lifetime he used three names: Originally he was Liu Shaobin, the name his parents gave him. When as a teenager he began to regard himself as a reformer, he used the name Liu Sifu, "thinking of restoration [of the Han people]." When he became an anarchist, he called himself Shifu, "to teach renewal." With the last change he stopped using his family name in order to comply with his anarchist principles; among other things he sought to change the family system. For this last period in his life it is correct to call him "Shifu." Prior to that, it is more appropriate to call him "Liu" or "Sifu," and I will adopt these usages in all that follows.

Liu Shaobin was born on June 27, 1884. He was still a boy when China's defeat at the hands of Japan in 1895 sent shock waves through the intelligentsia, who then saw China's urgent need for reform. In 1898 he earned the top place in local examinations in Xiangshan xian, Guangdong, his home district. That year also brought the Hundred Days' Reform, the abortive attempt at reform from the center of the Manchu government. The Boxer movement started in the north the next year and reached its climactic disaster in the summer of 1900. Liu was a young man of twenty-one in 1905 when the Qing government decided to terminate the examination system that for centuries had been the route to success for the literati. In that year Liu Sifu was studying in Japan, and there he joined Sun Yatsen's Tongmenghui, he had become a revolutionary. These monumental

events between 1895 and 1905 shaped the lives of Liu's generation, and many of his reactions were typical. But during his stay in Japan he entered a path that would mark him as unusual. There he first learned of anarchism; more accurately, he learned of a bundle of ideas that included anarchism, and he decided to attempt an assassination as a way to contribute to the cause of revolution. Toward this end he learned to make explosives, also while in Japan. These decisions set him apart as a "doer," one who was prepared not just to talk about revolution, but to act.

Although there were further turns on the road to his uncompromising commitment to anarchist principles in 1912, his decision to join action with thought in 1905 marked an early distinction between Liu and the vast majority of his peers. When in 1912 he made his final turn and became the apostle of anarchism in China, he completed a transition that had been under way for several years. Thus, when almost everyone else thought the revolution was over, he thought it was just beginning.

His father, Liu Bingchang, had served as an official and sometimes engaged in business ventures as well. He headed an upper-class family that had known better times. Still, the family home in Shiqi, the Xiangshan district seat, impressed those who visited it. Known as the Water Mansion (*Shui lou*), the family compound included an elegant garden with ponds, a covered bridge, and pavilions. The family was also blessed with children; Liu Sifu had eleven siblings, many of whom later joined in his work on behalf of anarchism.

When an American family produces a rebel or a revolutionary, biographers speculate that the offspring had problems with his or her parents. While this was also true of many Chinese revolutionaries, it was not so with Liu Sifu. Liu Pingchang took a leading role when progressive Xiangshan gentry joined the reform movement in the late 1890s. He organized a "natural-foot society" to oppose footbinding for local girls. He established the first public school in Xiangshan. He also circulated reform pamphlets calling for public works and mining development.

For Liu Bingchang, reform began at home. One of his six daughters never had her feet bound. This radical child also was allowed to dress as a boy. The other daughters, who had begun the footbinding process, "liberated" their feet. Perhaps the most remarkable demonstration of the father's progressive attitudes was that he let his daughters go swimming. The elder Liu's behavior helps to explain why his brightest son took up the cause of social reform while still a teenager and developed into one of the most insistent advocates of social revolution in his generation.

Though not the oldest son, Sifu displayed such great ability that he became the focus of his father's hopes for a successful career in the rising generation. Sifu excelled in his studies and gained the first (*xiucui*) degree in the local examinations when he was fifteen *sui*, in 1898. The next year he went to Guangzhou to take the provincial examination for the *jurenl* degree. That was

his only experience of the "examination hell" that generations of Chinese scholars had experienced. The aspirant stayed in a cramped cubicle for three days, writing his examination, eating, performing his bodily functions, without so much as a breath of fresh air. Liu Sifu did not pass this examination. He was traumatized by it, and he finished well down the list of candidates. Unable to believe his son had failed, Liu Bingchang asked a well-placed friend to get a look at the examination. Sifu had made a mess of his effort. He had written randomly on the scroll, and instead of sticking to the subject, he had scrawled some disrespectful verses. Later he told his younger brother, "When I saw the ugliness of the examination compound, I knew that we had to have political reform." He rejected the system and began efforts to change it.

Sifu undertook his first reform activities in Xiangshan. He helped to organize a reading group to study books and magazines for the "new knowledge" that he and his friends saw as essential if change were to come about in China. They also formed a public speaking society; many such organizations were being launched throughout the country to develop the speaking skills that were ignored in traditional Chinese education. A cousin, Liu Yuehang, joined Sifu in these activities, and the two shared many experiences during the next several years. They set up a branch of their reading group in Macao, where they were joined by Zheng Guangong, an activist who was several years older. Zheng had already studied in Japan, where he had worked with Liang Qichao on the *Public Opinion Journal* (*Qingyi bao*). Sifu's contact with Zheng at this time introduced him to one of the most radical thinkers on the local scene. Zheng edited a series of newspapers associated with Sun Zhongshan's revolutionary organizations until his premature death in 1906. Liu and some associates launched a successor to Zheng's last journal soon afterward.

Another of Liu's early reform activities was to start a girls' school in Xiangshan. The Empress Dowager had ordered that public funds should be used to support such projects, but in Xiangshan (and many other places, we may assume) the controlling gentry clique mouthed support while actually opposing Liu's school. In exasperation the young reformer went to the magistrate's office and, when his requests for funding were denied once more, banged his fist on the official's desk—rash behavior. Sifu now encountered resistance from the same local groups whom his father had opposed. The school project had to depend on private funds. From this time on Liu consistently worked on behalf of education for girls and the broader cause of women's rights. His own family experience made these issues the basis for his sense of the need for systemic change in the Chinese family and society.

Alongside these reform activities Liu maintained a quest for knowledge to meet his country's needs, and for a viewpoint, some broader sense of how China ought to be transformed. He was among those reform enthusiasts whose concern for his country probably led him into fields for which he had little aptitude and little genuine interest. Thus, he studied the fields of traditional mathematics

equivalent to algebra and trigonometry. It was in other areas of scholarly pursuit that his real interests and abilities emerged more clearly. He read widely in the works of the heterodox thinkers of the late Zhou "Hundred Schools"; these were the *zhuzi*, 'all the masters.' In these readings he applied the methods of philological research—*kaozheng*, the "examination and verification method" of the Han School—that had characterized much scholarship during the Qing period. Over the next several years many scholarly reformers and revolutionaries used this approach in their effort to find a rationale for change within the tradition of Chinese scholarship.

In an experience shared with thousands of others of his generation, Liu went to Japan to study. This sojourn was important in his continuing development; however, few details about it are clear, including its length. Perhaps he went in 1904, but it might not have been until 1905. He returned home during the second half of 1906. His cousin Liu Yuchang joined him on the trip, and they probably lived together. They were in Tokyo when the Revolutionary Alliance (*Tongmenghui*) was organized under Sun Zhongshan's leadership, and they signed up together about a week before the formal establishment of the Alliance.

Study in Japan did not necessarily mean formal enrollment in a school or university. We have no record that Liu studied on a formal basis. He was adept at language, and surely he learned enough Japanese to use it in reading the great variety of material on political and social thought then available in Japan. Certainly Liu received his introduction to anarchism during this stay in Japan. It is essential to note, however, that what he and other interested Chinese activists learned about anarchism at this point was intermixed with information about other similar movements in Europe and Russia. Anarchism, populism, and nihilism all were rolled together in an impression of revolutionary activity carried out by heroic youths against reactionary rulers. These vague 'ism's' held a powerful attraction for Chinese activists because they appeared to have been effective in Russia and Europe, whereas their own efforts at revolution were achieving nothing. Theoretical refinement would come later, through better informed journals which began publication in 1907, one in Tokyo and one in Paris.

Liu Sifu got enough of the message on activism to decide that he wanted to make assassination his own special contribution to revolution in China. While he was inspired by what he read about activists in the West, China had heroes too. "Men of determination" (*zhishi*) had fought injustice in ancient times, and Tan Sitong had revived this tradition with his martyr's death in 1898. Then in September 1905 Wu Yue had tried to assassinate a group of imperial commissioners as they left Beijing to study constitutional systems in Europe and Japan. The *Tongmenghui* ran an informal course for members who wished to learn how to make explosives, and Liu probably began to learn these skills at this operation in Yokohama. The instructors were two veteran Cantonese

activists, Li Zhisheng and Liang Muguang. Liang had participated in the Guangzhou uprising of 1903, led by Hong Quanfu, a nephew of the Taiping leader Hong Xiuquan.

By late 1905 there were more than 8,000 Chinese students in Japan, many of them under some kind of government sponsorship but even more as private students, those arranging for their own expenses. The Qing government had become concerned, particularly about the latter group and its increased revolutionary activity. The establishment of the Tongmenghui in August merely confirmed the government's suspicions. At the beginning of November the Japanese Ministry of Culture, prompted by the Chinese ambassador, announced a series of new regulations for the Chinese students, which were to take effect at the beginning of the new year.

Rumblings of resistance began almost immediately. Of fifteen new rules, the students were especially outraged at two. One would have allowed the Japanese government to deport any Chinese student for "improper behavior," an open-ended provision directed against anyone either the Chinese or Japanese government regarded as undesirable. The other required payment of housing fees in a lump sum, in advance; this was directed against the private students, whose funding was more precarious than those on government programs and among whom were many activists. The students held many meetings during November and December and opposed the regulations with petitions and threats of a strike.

Liu Sifu assumed a modest leadership role in this student movement and signed at least one of the petitions. While the students agreed that they must resist the new regulations, they were divided as to what form their resistance should take. Students from the central provinces tended to favor return to China as a protest. Those from Guangdong and the other southern coastal provinces supported a boycott of classes. Another of the leaders among the southern group was Wang Jingwei, who like Liu Sifu later organized an assassination corps and also became an anarchist. These parallels between the two were rooted in their shared experiences in Japan, where they became friends. They joined their fellow southerners in boycotting classes.

Liu returned to China sometime during the summer of 1906. Soon after his return home he went to Wuzhou, Guangxi, to teach at a new school. There he met Xie Yingbo, an activist from Canton who was a year or two older than Liu. They participated together in many activities until 1912. Also at Wuzhou, Liu received a visit from Huang Xing as the Tongmenghui leader traveled in southwestern China. Huang knew of Liu's interest in assassination, and presumably they discussed ways by which Liu's willingness to undertake a mission might be coordinated with other Tongmenghui plans.

Liu and Xie went to Hong Kong soon after Huang's visit. There they helped to start the *Eastern Journal* (*Dongfang bao*) as a successor to the journals that Zheng Guangong had been involved in. They also taught at Anhuai Girls' School, where Xie introduced Liu to a young woman teacher, Ding Xiangtian.

joined by friends for some of their excursions. This was a time of euphoria. The goal of revolutionary action seemed to have been achieved, and it was a time to rejoice. The euphoria of these days was personal as well; at this time, if not earlier, he and Ding consummated their relationship physically. This seems one of the few periods in his life when Liu Sifu simply enjoyed himself.

During this period of leisure, Liu had begun to develop plans for launching an anarchist movement in Guangzhou. He and his friends concluded their travels at West Lake in Hangzhou, where at Liu's call they began a spiritual retreat. Two friends joined Liu and Ding. One was Zheng Bi'an, who had published Liu's prison essays. The other was Mo Jipeng, another young idealist from Dongguan *xian* across the Canton Delta from Xiangshan, who had become acquainted with Liu through their work in the revolutionary armies. The group lived and held discussions first at White Cloud Cloister (*Baiyun an*), relocating after a few weeks to a private home at the south end of the lake.

This retreat brought the group's decision to launch the Conscience Society (*Xin she*) as the nucleus of an anarchist movement at Guangzhou. These founding members set their names to a twelve-point pledge, or covenant, for personal behavior that embodied their anarchist principles. These were the points: (1) Do not eat meat. (2) Do not drink liquor. (3) Do not smoke tobacco. (4) Do not use servants. (5) Do not ride in sedan-chairs or rickshas. (6) Do not marry. (7) Do not use a family name. (8) Do not serve as an official. (9) Do not serve as a delegate to an assembly. (10) Do not join a political party. (11) Do not serve in the army or navy. (12) Do not follow any religion.

This pledge came to be identified with Shifu; almost every account of his career repeats it. His initial statement of a sinicized anarchism included points drawn from Buddhism, an indebtedness that the Conscience Society's founders would refuse to acknowledge. (This secularized Buddhism is discussed in several places, but especially in chapter 6.) The naive approach reflected in this pledge suggests that Chinese anarchists assumed that a conscious moral renewal could launch the transformation of society. While Shifu retained his emphasis on principles, in the last year of his career he would address more practical concerns such as labor organizing.

Acceptance of the Conscience Society pledge completed the transition of Liu Sifu to the anarchist Shifu. In dropping the use of his family name, Shifu and his associates complied with one of the points in their pledge, and as monks renounce family connections to pursue higher spiritual goals, they rejected ordinary family links in order to work for a universal human family. The new name may be construed in two possible ways that would reflect Shifu's new sense of mission. He now felt able to "teach renewal", and as this *shi* which means "teacher" also had the ancient meaning of an ordinary soldier who was part of a mass army (this term is still used to identify one of the pieces in *xiangqi*, Chinese chess), the name also could mean "renewal of the masses." As teacher to the masses whom he sought to mobilize, Shifu set out to provide

an unfailing personal example of the principles of anarchism. This marked his final transition, a decision to finish out his life in sacrificial living, a new dare-to-die mode.

The founders of the Conscience Society returned to Guangzhou in early summer 1912 to launch their mission. As they had assumed, post-revolutionary conditions in the city offered a good opportunity to circulate new ideas. The group obtained two centers for their activities. The first was a rented building on Zunshan East Street in the merchant-dominated western suburb of Guangzhou. Shifu and Ding Xiangtian lived here, soon joined by several of Shifu's siblings and Zheng Bi'an's younger brother Peigang, who eventually married one of Shifu's sisters. The group soon got a second site in the gentry-dominated eastern part of the city, where Mo Jipeng, Zheng Bi'an, and Zheng's wife took up residence. These became worksites and study centers for discussions of anarchism and for classes in Esperanto, which they envisioned as the universal language appropriate for the worldwide anarchist community.

The Esperanto movement that Shifu's group launched in Guangzhou was modestly successful. It is difficult now to comprehend why a group of idealistic young Chinese would place so much emphasis on a contrived international language. Much of the explanation for their effort is suggested by the very origins of Esperanto. Its originator, Ludwig Zamenhof (1859-1912), lived in Bucharest, then a city in provincial Russia, an area of many languages and difficult communication. Esperanto drew on Latin roots, seeking to maximize the common background of many European languages. Zamenhof chose the term "one who hopes" as the name for his language. Shifu advanced quickly in his own study of Esperanto, another demonstration of his facility with languages. He found much to be encouraged about after he began to use Esperanto. He used the language to correspond with idealistic reformers and revolutionaries abroad, whom he saw as those who not only hoped but also truly understood. They were the first citizens of the great world community he ardently wished China to join. Both anarchists and Esperantists had their international organizations, with periodic world congresses (Shifu served as China's correspondent to both bodies). It was no wonder that Shifu found many kindred spirits through Esperanto; most European anarchists at this time also were Esperantists. There was some basis, then, for these aspirations that now seem naive. The outbreak of World War I dashed all such hopes, however, and left in its wake problems previously unimagined.

Initial efforts to propagate anarchism centered on the publication of several anthologies to present the theory and appeal of anarchism. Most of the materials included in these anthologies were reprinted from *New Century*, which was still the major source for Chinese translations of anarchist writings. Four such anthologies were produced between summer 1912 and spring 1913, in runs of 5,000 copies each. Besides the anthologies, the group also printed and distributed thousands of picture-postcards bearing portraits of major figures in

the international anarchist movement, including Kropotkin, Bakunin, and Tolstoy. These were simple but effective means to stimulate a mass interest in anarchism.

Shifu remained devoted in his efforts to present a living demonstration of the principles of anarchism. As the group's Esperanto school was located at the eastside headquarters, Shifu made the long walk across Guangzhou to attend the classes. But when his comrades had business at the Zunshan East Street office, they sometimes rode the streetcar or used a ricksha, only walking when they were within sight of the office. Shifu's comrades contrasted their own practices with his by calling Shifu "Mr. Earnest." He knew no compromise on his principles.

But there are many dimensions to principles, and before the end of 1912 complications entered Shifu's life. Ding Xiangtian gave birth to a daughter late in the year. Her relationship with Shifu began to deteriorate, presumably at least in part because of the child's arrival. Ding remained loyal and continued to do the part of the work that she had taken on for herself; after this time, however, she seems to have experienced little of the promise with which the relationship began. It is not clear why Shifu behaved as he did in this most intimate of relationships. Public rearing of children was one of his anarchist principles; yet he also appears to have believed that his group should not have to carry any expenses for his own child. His love relationship seems to have crashed in this conflict involving his views on free love, personal responsibility, and the lofty principle of public rearing of children.

During the summer of 1913 the group achieved one of their major goals when they bought a printing press. From this point on they did all the printing themselves at the Zunshan East Street office. Shifu had wanted to start a journal to strengthen the propaganda work. In August the group produced the first issue of the *Cock-crow Record* (*Huiming lu*). Shifu served as editor and chief essayist. His brothers and sisters, with Zheng Peigang, served as the printers; the sisters bound the journal and prepared the mailings for copies distributed beyond Guangzhou. This division of labor was used in all subsequent issues of the journal.

Also in summer 1913 the group began efforts to establish a rural commune. They had located a pleasant tract of land in Xin'an xian on the eastern shore of the Canton Delta and were trying to arrange financing to purchase it when politics intervened. The unsuccessful Second Revolution against Yuan Shikai's increasingly despotic approach to governing the Republic brought a change in the local administration, and Yuan's men in Guangdong forced Shifu and his group to flee. For Shifu, Zheng Peigang, and the female members of the Zunshan East Street group, several months of dislocation followed the expulsion from Guangzhou. This period apparently passed without great hardship as the group relocated in Macao, where two more issues of the journal were published; their printing press went with them. The new title *Voice*

of the People (*Min sheng*) was used for these and all subsequent issues. The second issue from Macao (Number 4) gave a new address for the group at the American post office in Shanghai. After relocating in that city's international section, Shifu attacked his work with renewed energy. He and his helpers produced *Voice of the People* regularly between April and early August of 1914. By that time World War I had begun in Europe. That momentous development coincided with a break in Shifu's health. He began a losing battle against tuberculosis that ended with his death in March 1915.

While four months of publication does not seem impressive, this was a respectable publication record as compared to the short lives of many journals in early twentieth-century China. Shifu was convinced of his themes, and this period of regular publication was sufficient for him to make these clear. Shifu was a dynamo of activity; he had his mission, and he pursued it without reserve. Always in his writing for *Voice of the People* there is a tone of urgency and persistence. His experiences in Guangzhou had shown him that something more than spreading the truth among the people would be necessary to bring about the true revolution. And as he had learned firsthand, malevolent forces centering on Yuan Shikai lay ever ready to move against those who spread the truth, or any part of the truth that conflicted with Yuan's notion of it.

After resettling in Shanghai, Shifu announced the formation of his new organization, the Society of Anarchist-Communist Comrades (*Wuzhengfu gongchan zhuyi tongzhi she*). Two basic statements published in *Voice of the People* in spring 1914, a "Proclamation" and a "Statement of Goals and Methods," outline Shifu's vision of the anarchist society to come. Kropotkin provided the basis and outline for Shifu's vision; the combination of morality and the scientific viewpoint had made him Shifu's long-distance mentor. But on some questions, for example Shifu's call for open male-female relationships and public rearing of children, he focused on issues that were of secondary interest to Kropotkin. These points represent the form Shifu now gave to issues that had been important to him throughout his career as reformer and anti-Manchu revolutionary. Chapter 8 presents the form Shifu's anarchism took in this last part of his career.

Another of Shifu's persistent themes in *Voice of the People* was to attack Sun Yatsen and Jiang Kanghu. Both men had great influence, and both claimed to favor some form of socialism. Shifu's criticisms reflected his effort to assure that socialist principles would be understood correctly in China. His major complaint against Sun and Jiang was that they sought only political revolution, which would approach social change only through social policies (*shehui zhengce*), while anarchism called for social revolution (*shehui geming*). Revolution should set aside all political authority. Shifu believed, and begin with the transformation of society. Shifu's chief concern in his attacks on both Sun and Jiang was that if China depended on these two, there would be no true understanding of socialism at all. In attacking these "state socialists," as he

called Sun and Jiang. Shifu likened them to Karl Marx in his disagreements with Bakunin in the First International. Thus one major result of Shifu's career was to establish a negative image of Marx that would last until the early 1920s among the Chinese intelligentsia.

Shifu's concern to have anarchism understood correctly led him to criticize even those who shared his anarchist principles. He attacked Wu Zihui, one of the editors of *New Century*, from which Shifu first learned his anarchist theory, for accepting an appointment under the Republican government. Shifu also wrote of his disagreements with leaders of the Socialist Party (*Shehui dang*), a group that had split from Jiang Kanghu's party because they preferred anarchism to Jiang's watered-down socialism. If it espoused anarchism, Shifu asked, why was the new party content to call itself socialist? All of Shifu's disputations suggest that he was focusing on disagreements at a time when Chinese socialists desperately needed all the unity they could generate. Something more than disagreement on principles was undoubtedly involved; as had happened in earlier periods of China's history and would happen again in twentieth-century opposition political movements, new movements tended to center on the individuals who led them, and these individuals were more jealous regarding their followership than they could ever acknowledge. While this tendency partly explains Shifu's contentiousness, he did have an important point: if socialism were ever to be correctly understood in China, someone had to stand for theoretical consistency.

August 1914 brought the break in Shifu's health from which he never recovered. Probably the cause of his decline was simply physical. Never robust physically, he had sustained serious wounds in his abortive assassination attempt in 1907; most recently, he had exhausted himself in his cause. Yet it is possible that a new and for him inconceivable source of despair was part of the cause of his physical decline. When war began in Europe, Kropotkin decided to support the Allied side against Germany. Shifu's saint had denied the anarchists' faith in internationalism! For Shifu the effect of Kropotkin's decision must have been much like that of students in Beijing in reacting to the Versailles peace conference's decision on Shandong in 1919, a loss of faith in the high principles stated by Westerners whom they had respected. Even in this experience Shifu was ahead of his time. While it is impossible to know how directly this disillusionment contributed to the break in Shifu's health, obviously it provided little incentive to recover.

As his condition deteriorated, Shifu again displayed his uncompromising dedication to principles. A doctor urged him to eat meat, as diet was important in combating tuberculosis. Shifu had pledged not to eat meat, and he did not do so now. His comrades suggested that they sell the group's printing press in order to pay medical expenses. Shifu refused because the press was essential to their work. In his dying as during his lifetime, these expressions of Shifu's commitment established his place as the soul of the Chinese anarchist movement.

Shifu's comrades published a memorial issue of *Voice of the People* to him a few weeks after his death in March 1915. In addition to many tributes to Shifu, this issue included a brief discussion of a strike in Shanghai about which he had written. He had reported on other labor activity in earlier issues, and on the Shanghai strike in the next-to-last issue produced under his editorship. This record of attention to the conditions of China's workers suggests that, had he lived longer, Shifu might have found new and more effective ways to link his anarchist message directly to the labor movement. Soon after his arrival in Shanghai, a reader had written to ask, "Are you, Shifu, a worker?" Shifu responded by describing his labors on the journal, in printing it as well as editing it; yes, he said, he was a worker.

He could not have answered otherwise, even though this response was not the objective truth. Even so, he had sought to identify with workers and all other "plain people" (*pingmin*), and with their predicament in society as it was, and to understand their potential in a transformed society. Critics might point to those blind spots in his consciousness that kept Shifu from moving farther, but he had advanced a great distance beyond most of his contemporaries. His presentation of anarchism inspired the next generation of Chinese anarchists and indeed went far toward shaping the generally accepted view of anarchism among Chinese activists. So profound was the effect of Shifu's uncompromising personal example that he was made the focus of "Shifu-ism," testimony to the respect those later anarchists accorded him. These influences appear in the final two substantive chapters of this study (chapters 9 and 10).

His comrades decided to bury Shifu beside West Lake, where he had launched his mission on behalf of anarchism. A carved stone marks the grave near Red Mist Cave (*Yanxia dong*) in the hills beside the lake. Shifu would have been most pleased to know that, during the next few years, his efforts did attract many to the anarchist movement, which reached its greatest strength from the late 1910s through the early 1920s.

Chapter 2

Anarchism in Europe and in China: Themes Reasserted and Themes Adapted

The roots of anarchism lie deep in the history of social and political thought, and anarchists would say they reside in the soul of every human being. Peter Kropotkin, the single most influential interpreter of anarchist ideas, saw the embodiment of anarchist principles in every natural human community. Kropotkin believed that with the removal of the nefarious forms of authority that control modern societies, it would not take long to restore the community to this genuinely popular and human basis. In terms of modern political theory, anarchism employs a socialist critique of the capitalist economy and a liberal critique of the state.¹ Anarchism has suffered in the historical memory because it has never been the ideology of a successful revolutionary organization. Anarchists criticized the statist approach employed in both the great revolutions of this century, and by opposing those who won those revolutions, assured themselves obscurity.

Kropotkin and others looking for ancient origins of anarchist ideas have found them in Zeno and the Stoics from the Western tradition and in Laozi, the founder of Daoism in China. The simple communism admonished by the apostle Paul for the early Christian community seems a precedent; however, modern anarchists have sought to free themselves from religion. By the time of the Reformation, complaints against the authority and corruption of the church were combined with peasant protest about the economic order.² Anabaptists and other popular movements called for an equal sharing of the goods of life.³ The "Diggers" of the English Revolution carried out their demand for material equity by cultivating land previously held in common to produce their own food.⁴ In Chinese history, many popular movements that advanced egalitarian, anti-authoritarian themes, seem similar precedents. The Taipings appealed to

impulses similar to early modern religious movements in the West. In several of these instances in both Europe and China, however, egalitarian impulses were offset by a movement's orientation to an individual leader believed to have divine guidance.

Among the thinkers of the Enlightenment, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's call for direct democracy in *The Social Contract* reflects the spirit of anarchism. The French Revolution provided precedents to inspire revolutionists of all persuasions throughout the following century. Kropotkin saw anarchist principles embodied in some of the popular initiatives of the years 1789-1793. William Godwin (1756-1836) presented these ideas in the rationalist terms of the time without inspiring a movement. Anarchist ideas resurfaced by the middle decades of the nineteenth century, this time attracting a devoted following and a succession of remarkable theorists.

European Anarchism and Its Influence in China

Proudhon, the First Modern Anarchist

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865) launched anarchism as a set of principles and as a movement. The son of a peasant, Proudhon always identified with ordinary working people.² Largely self-educated, he entered the printing trade hoping to become a writer. *What Is Property?*, the first of his important works, was published in 1840. Here Proudhon became the first to declare himself an 'anarchist,' claiming as a philosophical and political viewpoint a term that previously had been used only to label political chaos. The direct answer Proudhon gave to the question in his title became his best-known words. "Property is theft."³ He believed that workers should control production and enjoy its benefits, free from control or exploitation by wealthy nonproducers.

Proudhon spent most of the years after 1844 in Paris, where he met Karl Marx that same year. Marx had read *What Is Property?* with some approval. After moving to Belgium in 1846, Marx wrote to Proudhon proposing correspondence to exchange views on socialism. In response Proudhon expressed apprehension at Marx's suggestion that a "point of action" would come, that at some time the socialist movement should undertake political revolution. Proudhon had already that economic action offered greater opportunities for the kind of change he believed desirable.

One of Proudhon's most important works is *On the General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century*, written during a period of imprisonment following the Revolution of 1848.⁴ Here he presented his view that the French Revolution of 1789 had failed in many ways and called for economic change of the kind that had not been attempted in France's previous great revolution. His call for "a new edifice of industrial institutions" in this book foreshadowed syndicalism. These institutions would replace the political institutions that

Proudhon saw as nothing more than modifications of the feudal-military order of the past. He suggested an outline of his ideal anarchist society:

In place of laws, we will put contracts; no more laws voted by the majority or even unanimously. Each citizen, each town, each industrial union will make its own laws. In place of political powers we will put economic forces... In place of standing armies, we will put industrial associations. In place of police we will put identity of interests. In place of political centralization, we will put economic centralization.⁹

Proudhon rejected all forms of violence, just as he rejected revolution; he even opposed strikes as counterproductive. Instead, he envisaged a gradual undermining of the existing economic forms by workers' institutions. The "mutualist" groups he sought to organize would negotiate "free contracts" for the production and exchange of goods. Mutualist banks would provide free credit to support the enterprises of these groups. Through these means the workers would gradually wrest control from the capitalists.

Shifu acknowledged Proudhon's role as one of the founders of anarchism. In order to assert the independent beginnings of the anarchist movement, he pointed out that Proudhon had launched anarchism during the 1840s, when Marx was first active. Probably the single most important principle that Shifu would incorporate from Proudhon's anarchism into his own was a total aversion to politics. While Shifu also strongly endorsed the need for egalitarian economic institutions, he regarded the idea for mutualist banks as a weakness in Proudhon's program because he deemed it not fully communist.¹⁰

In one of Proudhon's later works, *On the Federative Principle*, he proposed free association on ascending levels as the anarchist alternative to nations and international organization. Proudhon's views on federalism would attract attention in China at several points during the 1920s as some anarchists sought to apply this principle in building a just and workable new polity.¹¹ Perhaps neither Shifu nor other Chinese anarchists realized that Proudhon offered no support on a theme they regarded as most important, the issue of women's liberation in social revolution; Proudhon saw women as limited to their traditional roles of wife and mother.¹²

Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy* was only his first effort to counter Proudhon's influence, which was solidly established by the early 1840s. Marx was not widely known outside the socialist movement until after the publication of the first volume of *Capital* in 1867. So Proudhon was a thorn in his side, a clear challenge to his analysis and program.¹³ Marx credited Proudhon for advocating equality and for recognizing that private property constituted the essential problem in the existing system. However, Marx regarded it as a key error that Proudhon sought to use capitalist institutions such as property and contracts in the effort to transcend capitalism. Marx described Proudhon as a "petty

bourgeois idealist," and Marxists have readily categorized anarchists by using this term as an epithet ever since.¹⁴

Bakunin and the Anarchist Movement

Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) followed Proudhon as the central figure in the development of anarchism. Bakunin was responsible for the growth of a movement around the ideas of anarchism. Born to an aristocratic family in provincial Russia, Bakunin went to Berlin in 1840 to study philosophy. After imbibing the ideas of the "Young Hegelians," he decided to make revolution his career. His most familiar quotation, "The urge to destroy is also a creative urge," dates from this period; but while Bakunin would stand by this sentiment, he was not yet an anarchist.¹⁵ By the middle of the decade he was in Paris, where he met Proudhon. They spent many hours in discussion, and to the end of his life Bakunin regarded Proudhon as the greatest of revolutionists. The major thrust of Bakunin's work at this time was to support the Pan-Slavic movement aimed at liberating the peoples of eastern Europe from Russian domination. His capture in 1848 following an uprising in the German state of Saxony resulted in an extended imprisonment, which removed him from action for more than a decade. He spent six years in jail under terrible conditions, losing all his teeth because of scurvy.¹⁶ After transfer to Siberia in 1857, he finally escaped in 1861. He returned to Europe by way of Japan and the United States, his reputation enhanced by this adventurous episode.¹⁷ His eagerness to return to revolutionary activity suggests his vitality. During these later years Bakunin's major work was to organize anarchists in Italy, Switzerland, and France. He was also responsible for initiatives to Spain that launched the anarchist movement there.¹⁸ These efforts contributed much to the growth of an organized international movement. Bakunin sought to link the anarchists with other elements in the international socialist movement. This led him to enroll his Alliance of Social Democracy in the First International.

Contrary to the general impression, it was not Marx who organized the International. Rather it began on the initiative of French labor activists, encouraged by Louis Napoleon's government in the hope that contact with workers elsewhere would moderate the demands of the French workers.¹⁹ Marx quickly joined the organization, hoping to work "behind the scenes" (as he put it)²⁰ so that the proletariat would gradually be transformed into a self-conscious agent for social transformation. Marx was responsible for opening the International to the kind of initiative Bakunin made when he brought his Alliance into the organization.²¹ But the International was not a platform for either Marx or Bakunin, nor merely a stage for the dispute that developed between them. The struggle between Bakunin and Marx was not the only factor in the passing of the International. It was critical to the organization's fate that the Paris Commune occurred just as their dispute became heated. The French and other

governments then adopted repressive policies toward all socialist activity, making it impossible for the International to withstand the internal stress of the Marx-Bakunin struggle.

The differences between Bakunin and Marx centered on the issue of autonomy for individual units as opposed to central authority in the International, and broader questions on the nature of revolution were closely related. While Bakunin and Marx disagreed on these questions, they held similar views on other important points; for example, both favored revolution and were prepared to use violence. But the issues on which they disagreed became critical. The struggle came to a head at the 1872 congress of the International, held at the Hague. The organization actually collapsed over meaningless procedural issues.²²

Once the disagreements between Bakunin and Marx began, both became convinced that his worst fears about the other were true.²³ Bakunin saw Marx as an autocrat determined to impose his will on the socialist movement. Marx saw Bakunin as a mindless conspirator determined to render the International ineffectual. Marx (and Engels) saw Russianness in Bakunin's ideas and behavior. Bakunin expressed his fears that the social revolution would become characterized by "pan-Germanism" and "statism."²⁴ He was convinced that the German people knew only order and submissiveness, and that this had been reflected in Marx's activity in the International. Bakunin saw the Slav and Romance peoples as the only peoples capable of preserving true freedom and humanity.²⁵ Paul Thomas suggests that the struggle between Bakunin and Marx reflects an "eastern" and a "western" approach to social revolution, the former more concerned with freedom and the latter more devoted to order.²⁶ This tension runs throughout the history of relations between anarchists and Marxists, and if it reflects a difference in national outlook, perhaps even more it represents a basic dilemma in human nature and social organization. Little wonder that these problems ended the work of the International.

As this European background related to China, many revolutionaries there identified with the Russian populist movement and "nihilism" as early as 1903. As shown in the next chapter, early notions about anarchism among Chinese activists were associated with this populism. When a better understanding of anarchism developed after 1907, these activists were greatly attracted by its rationalist humanism and its opposition to all forms of authority. By 1913-14 Shifu understood the significance of the Bakunin-Marx split and used it in his persistent efforts to overcome the influence of Sun Zhongshan and Jiang Kanghu, whom he regarded as state socialists like Marx (see chapters 7 and 8). When in the early 1920s a basic shift to Marxism began among Chinese activists, this same basic issue of the sources of order—centralized discipline or local spontaneity—lay at the crux of the debate between anarchists and Marxists as they vied for influence among the intelligentsia.

Two other points in Bakunin's anarchism should be mentioned here because they figured in Shifu's presentation of anarchism in China. Bakunin called himself a "collectivist" in order to distinguish himself from the "communists," by whom he meant Marxists and their emphasis on centralized leadership of the revolutionary movement and on establishment of a new government following the revolution. Bakunin used the term collectivism to express his belief in the strength of collective effort.²⁷ By about 1880, Kropotkin and other influential anarchists began to use the term "anarchist communism" for the same views that Bakunin had meant by his use of collectivism, and the latter was then applied to Marxist "statism." In this meaning, the issue of collectivism became a keystone in Shifu's debates with Sun Zhongshan and Jiang Kanghu. The second point concerns the right of inheritance. Bakunin believed that this traditional institution constituted the chief basis for accumulated wealth. He worked very hard to get a resolution passed against the right of inheritance at the Basel congress of the International in 1869, and his insistence on the point became part of Marx's bill against him. By that time, however, Bakunin's chief concern was tactical; many of his followers were peasants, who opposed the alternative of outright expropriation of property.²⁸ This issue became part of Shifu's debate with Jiang Kanghu, who had made abolition of the right of inheritance a major point in the program of his Chinese Socialist Party (see chapter 8).

Bakunin's influence in China is suggested in the pen name chosen by one of China's most influential writers, Ba Jin, who used the first character from the Chinese transliteration for Bakunin, *Bakunin*, and the last character from that for Kropotkin, *Kelopatejin*.²⁹ If Bakunin inspired activism, Kropotkin was the major source for theory among Chinese anarchists.

Kropotkin and Anarchist Theory

By the last decade of the nineteenth century Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921) had become the acknowledged spokesperson of the anarchist movement. Like Bakunin, he was a son of the Russian nobility, and he sojourned in Europe. Like Proudhon, Kropotkin differed greatly from Bakunin in emphasis and style. Following preparation at the tsar's elite academy, Kropotkin opted for military duty in Siberia. He found in the tribespeople there his earliest demonstrations of the workability of a simple communal life, which influenced his ideas about anarchist society. His scientific career also began at this time; he studied the geological structure of northeastern Asia and presented his findings in a book that established his reputation as a geologist. In 1866 he resigned from the army over the brutal handling of an attempted prisoners' escape in the area where he was serving. Then after working for five years as a geographer, Kropotkin went to Europe in 1871. He lived in Switzerland for a year, reading as much as he could about socialism. He also visited the Jura district, where communities of Swiss farmer-watchmakers epitomized the life that anarchists idealized.

Kropotkin returned to Russia and lived for a year in St. Petersburg with one of the populist groups who shared his goals. Following arrest in 1874 for his activities among the workers, in 1876 he escaped from prison, departed Russia, and lived abroad for more than forty years.

Kropotkin settled in Geneva, where he and a group of associates published *Revolte* during the late 1870s. The journal carried many of his most important essays, and these years proved the most productive period in the development of his thought.³⁰ After the Swiss government deported him in 1881, Kropotkin spent most of the next five years in France, much of the time in a controversial imprisonment following a general roundup of socialists in 1882-83. The episode made Kropotkin a cause célèbre with many intellectuals in France and elsewhere.³¹ The poor health caused by this imprisonment produced a major change in his role in the anarchist movement, from activist to advocate. On his release from prison in 1886 he went immediately to England, where he remained for the next three decades.

Through the 1880s Kropotkin shared with most other anarchists the notion that revolution would come about through a sudden uprising by the exploited, set off by a general strike or an assassination, to be followed by an abrupt change in attitudes regarding property, livelihood, and in other basic social and economic patterns. In his later years he came to believe that after a revolutionary episode marking a clear beginning, a longer period of transition would be required to develop a new social order, which would be achieved by the people themselves rather than a new government. Although Kropotkin's views changed somewhat, his writings often convey an optimism that Shifu and many other Chinese anarchists ingested whole. If Kropotkin used this tone in hopes of suggesting to European readers the eminent rationalism of his views, to Shifu it seemed that social revolution was imminent if only the good news of anarchism were disseminated among the people.

Kropotkin played a leading role in establishing anarchist communism as the label for the society anarchists envisioned, as a modification to Bakunin's term collectivism. The essential idea here is that society would cease to use the concept of property and replace it with free distribution, because the factories and machines, the labor that built them, and before all this the thought and labor of preindustrial society, belong to everyone. Under anarchist communism, all would continue to contribute to the common effort in production, and all would draw freely, according to their *needs*, from what is produced.

As his views evolved, Kropotkin lost enthusiasm for assassination as a tactic to set off revolution. Especially in France, totally undisciplined use of assassination had fastened a powerful negative image of anarchism, which persists up to the present. Thus, by the middle 1890s Kropotkin opposed assassination as a tactic in the movement, although he would not deny his support to those who felt compelled to use it. On this point, Shifu followed Kropotkin's example. As already noted, Shifu was prepared to undertake a final

assassination mission as of early 1912, but as he completed the transition to anarchism he renounced further use of the tactic himself while acknowledging to the right of others who felt called upon to use it. Like Kropotkin, he came to regard mass actions such as the general strike as the preferable revolutionary tactic for anarchists.

Kropotkin's voluminous writings include pamphlets, collections of his articles gathered into books, and works that he conceived as book-length treatises. His "Appeal to the Young" aroused young people from Europe to Russia to China to work for change in society as revolutionists or through their careers.³² His most important work during the later period was *Mutual Aid* (published 1902), which was his response to the Social Darwinists and an apologia for the cooperative principle that Kropotkin saw as the essence of anarchist society. In it his major point was that just as mutual aid served as a key factor in the successful adaptation of species in the natural world, so too it was vital to the well-being of the human community. Kropotkin also wrote an impressive historical work, *The Great French Revolution*. Like most nineteenth-century revolutionists, Kropotkin regarded the French Revolution as the wellspring of later movements. He appreciated the revolution's accomplishments in ending feudalism and establishing the principle of equality; these great principles had penetrated to the eastern frontiers of Europe. Like Proudhon, however, he blamed the bourgeoisie for snuffing out the nascent institutions that could have brought the full development of free association. Those sprouts of anarchism remained as important precedents, he believed.

When World War I began, Kropotkin set aside the principle of internationalism to support the Allied side against Germany. This decision reflected the deep-seated anti-German feeling that he shared with Bakunin, and it divided him from a number of European anarchists who upheld their principles of pacifism and internationalism. This also became Shifu's first disagreement with Kropotkin (see chapter 8). In the summer of 1917 Kropotkin decided to return to Russia. The subsequent Bolshevik rise to power in the November Revolution placed Russian anarchists once again in opposition to followers of Marx. Because of his age and widespread respect, Kropotkin was spared when Bolshevik hostility to the anarchists turned violent. While he was repulsed by the Bolshevik dictatorship, he also noted that the positive achievements of the revolution—in Russia as in France—would last long after their excesses had been endured. And he appealed to those whom he might influence in the west to discourage intervention.³³ Kropotkin died in Russia in 1921. He had incorporated in anarchist thought the arguments of science, the most respected language of modern life. His humanism combined with his credibility as a scientist gave anarchism its great appeal to Chinese intellectuals.

The Paris group of early Chinese anarchists presented Kropotkin's anarchism as a scientifically-based panacea for their country. Kropotkin's anarchism offered a rational, naturally-based, sublimely humanist morality that showed

concern for every member of society; it represented a modern form for all that had been essential to Chinese thinkers throughout the long history of the civilization. Anarchist principles made it possible to look backward to key values in Chinese thought about society and forward to a future combining the highest in human values with science and technology. In receiving these great principles, Shifu at first seems to have believed that anarchism could be transplanted directly to China simply by disseminating its principles in propaganda. While he moderated this outlook somewhat, he retained the enthusiasm of a new convert. For all the reasons outlined above, Kropotkin's anarchism became Shifu's gospel.

To Shifu in the spring of 1912, everything seemed possible: the Manchus had been brought down; the revolutionary government in Guangzhou was progressive and included some who shared his passion for social change; and Kropotkin was living in London. Most important, great popular movements for peace and constructive development were at work in Europe, as the war that changed the world had not yet begun. Anarchists in China must hurry to prepare their people for the coming revolution.

The Late Qing Intellectual Environment

Having emphasized links with anarchists and anarchism from abroad, we now need to consider the Chinese environment in which the anarchists sought to implant their principles. Three themes are especially important: First, while many activist intellectuals were confident in the promises of technology for China, their optimism was balanced by apprehension because of the political and moral weakness of the old order, which made China vulnerable to the aggressions of imperialist powers in China. Second, most intellectuals were concerned to balance internal and external—Chinese and Western—elements in meeting the challenges that confronted the nation. Third, those who believed they had found answers to China's problems tended to develop great confidence in the solutions they proposed. This established a characteristic that I will call "the certitude of the leader." The general mood seems accurately described as a "crisis of belief," to which anarchist principles offered totally satisfying solutions.

The intellectual world of the Chinese elite broadened rapidly in the last few years of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth. Since the Opium War, China had suffered repeated defeats and humiliations at the hands of the various Western powers. The Qing government had intermittently undertaken reforms in response to this foreign threat. Not until the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, however, did the Chinese elite reach consensus on the urgent need for change. The war of 1894-95 pitted this proud Chinese empire against another Asian nation that had made its own response to the threat of Western dominance by adopting Western military techniques, restructuring its

polity, and engineering a social transformation. The humiliating defeat by Japan prompted China, after 1895, to undertake reform on a scale never before seriously considered by the empire's leadership.

Even as Confucianism was eroding by the early 1900s, it provided a great service: it produced many thoughtful, courageous individuals, conditioned by Confucian values, to care for their society. By late imperial times, however, many felt trapped in a predicament because of the seeming inability of the emperor and his bureaucracy to provide for the general well-being.²⁴ The possibility of achieving this Confucian imperative grew ever more remote, yet the elite clung to it because they could conceive no other ideal. The tensions in their thought and life that grew out of this age-old challenge produced vitality in the elite world of late Qing China.

Foreboding turned to optimism when reform-minded Chinese thinkers grasped the significance of technology as it had developed in the modern West. Beginning with Kang Youwei, Chinese reformers saw that physical mastery of the natural world offered the opportunity to achieve the age-old Confucian goal of ensuring prosperity. This discovery of technology allowed reformers to concentrate on restructuring society to ensure an equitable sharing of prosperity. However, recurring political crises aroused fear that the survival of the Chinese nation and culture was in question. Thus, throughout the first decade of this century, optimism and desperation alternate as basic themes in writings of reformers and revolutionaries. Still, faith in technology remained strong. This faith might be implied rather than stated explicitly. For example, following Sun Zhongshan's lead, mainline Tongmenghui thinking envisioned an equitable distribution of material things under national socialism as the means to evade the worst features of development as it had occurred in the capitalist West. For anarchists, and for Shifu most of all, faith in technology was balanced by confidence that all members of society would share its benefits. The new confidence in technology was expressed in a variety of ways; the concern for equity grew out of age-old principles.

The issue of internal as opposed to external elements in plans to modernize China had been bound up with the question of change itself ever since this question first occurred in the middle nineteenth century. From that time onward, reform thinking had been based on the *ti-yong* formula, the idea that China could adapt to the threat from the outside world by using "Chinese ways for the cultural base, Western ways in practical affairs" (*Zhongxue wei ti, Xixue wei yong*). This widely applied principle seems to suggest a dichotomy incapable of reconciling the differences between Chinese and Western cultures. However, a variety of attitudes and programs were put forward before as well as after proponents of an anti-Manchu revolution called for a new political form in China.²⁵ While the *ti-yong* issue as such had faded somewhat by the early years of this century, questions regarding the role of ideas from abroad remained basic to discussions of change in China. Anarchism held great appeal for Chinese

intellectuals because it offered a scientific basis for a moral system that emphasized well-being for all members of society. Furthermore, anarchism's attack on all forms of authority entered into the thinking of Chinese activists at a point of growing disillusionment with authority. The completeness of anarchist theory also answered a basic need for system (*tixi*) for Chinese intellectuals.³⁶ Thus, anarchism offered a totally satisfying resolution of the *ti-yong* problem: it updated traditional morality by substituting the social concern of Kropotkin's universal moral principle for the Confucian-based devotion to social welfare.

Anarchism also addressed the *ti-yong* issue by challenging the traditional culture itself. Anarchists were not alone nor necessarily first in addressing the issue of culture; national essence (*guocui*) writers emphasized the qualities of pristine Chinese culture as the basis for spiritual renewal and national strength.³⁷ Still, it was the anarchists who systematically developed the themes of cultural revolution. The Paris anarchists did not attack Confucius "from the rear," as the national essence writers did in concentrating on how he and his followers had perverted the Chinese heritage. Rather the Paris anarchists emphasized the *irrelevance* of the Confucianist cornerstones of Chinese society and culture in the modern world. The Chinese people must cast off these features of tradition, the Paris group insisted, in order to live a rational life. The early Chinese anarchist movement also produced an alternative that began with the national essence viewpoint and emphasized China's internal resources for cultural and social reconstruction. Formulated by the Tokyo group, this view drew on traditional Chinese thought. These differences are discussed further in the next section.³⁸

As is made clear in later chapters, Shifu became convinced that his new system of belief was the truth. In this respect he was like other aspiring Chinese leaders who developed a systematic ideology: their sense of conviction about their views and their capacity to lead became so strong as to merit the term "the certitude of the leader." David Nivison drew attention to this aspect of the new optimism in an essay on the "knowledge and action" issue published many years ago.³⁹ By the period we are concerned with, Nivison observed, radical reformers from Tan Sitong to Sun Zhongshan believed that knowledge was difficult, while action was easy. This view had important effects on the popular movements that emerged during this period. The relationship between knowledge and action had emerged as a key issue between adherents of the "Old Text" point of view and the "New Text" interpretation of the Classics, which supported the 1898 reformers' view of Confucius. Tan Sitong played a pivotal role in the reformers' reworking of tradition; influenced by both Buddhism and Christianity, Tan had discovered religion as a source for new systems of ideas to transform society. With Kang Youwei and other reformers, Tan urged the establishment of a Confucian religion to overcome the appeal of Christianity. The object was to revere the individual whose knowledge or insight underlay the system, thus to make knowledge more important than action. "What I value

most highly is knowledge, not action," Tan wrote. "Whereas action is limited, knowledge is unlimited; whereas action is exhaustible, knowledge is inexhaustible." Tan regarded religion as well as science as part of "knowledge," and thus "knowledge" must be "real"—Tan's way of linking his new view of knowledge with the Neo-Confucian need for "sincerity," Nivison says. "When one's knowledge is 'real,' [Tan proclaimed,] there is nothing one cannot do."⁴⁴

Nivison pursued the knowledge and action theme into the periods of the Republic and the People's Republic, observing that Sun Zhongshan saw the relationship between the two as Tan Sitong had understood it. Action is easy, as I know what must be done, was Sun's implication.⁴⁵ Later, Jiang Kaishan produced his own discussion "On Knowledge and Action," which presented a direct appeal to the mass of people to follow the all-knowing leader. Beginning with Mao Zedong, Communist leaders put the relationship between knowledge and action in terms of theory and practice. They also distinguished two kinds of knowledge, perceptual and rational. Rational knowledge is the kind that counts: this is knowledge verified by the Party's experience in leadership of the revolution.⁴⁶ Thus, thinking on the "knowledge and action question" became part of the rationale for unenlightened masses to follow a wise leader. Shifu explicitly displayed this same certitude of the leader when he wrote that "the talented" (*caizhe*) should decide the needs of revolution, and "those without talent" (*bucaizhe*) should carry out these ideas.⁴⁷ While he was not able to develop a mass movement, Shifu was convinced that he knew the truth. He was among the first to attempt to communicate his truth to a broad public in order to mobilize them for social revolution. His emphasis on morality was his greatest strength, but by the 1920s it would become the source of a major flaw in the anarchists' organizational effort.

The crisis facing Chinese society and culture during late Qing and early Republican times has been described in various ways. While any label might put things too simply, the basic situation seems best characterized as a crisis of belief. If discovery of the possibilities of technology produced optimism, intellectuals still faced the question of how to build a new foundation for society. The imperial order had served as the focus of belief, loyalty, and organization, but that order had been in decline for at least a century. The Manchu court's belated reforms beginning about 1900 were, in retrospect, a fairly creditable effort to resolve the crisis of confidence that had developed.⁴⁸ This crisis, apparently political in nature, actually was much broader. For example, abolition of the traditional examination system in 1905 precipitated an identity crisis among the elite, even though many of its members favored this reform. Even if reform were to concentrate on the imperial institution itself, it would have been almost impossible to do enough. China's crisis was so deep and so broad that it required a rebuilding from the very foundations of society.

Awareness of the depths of the problem led many radicals, whether reformers or revolutionaries, to put China's needs in terms of belief. This

understanding of China's predicament linked Shifu not only to his predecessors in the anarchist movement, but also to such other individuals as Tan Sitong and Zhang Taiyan. The historical relationship in China between belief, or religion, and political authority made this an issue of basic social and cultural order. In the past, effective imperial government had been linked to Confucian orthodoxy. When the imperial system weakened, efforts were mounted to rectify orthodox thought and behavior, or by those who challenged the current authority, to seek alternative systems of belief. The perception of crisis by late Qing times opened the way for a broad quest to consider many possible systems of belief. Christianity played a catalytic role in this movement toward viable new belief. Missionary educators such as Timothy Richard had introduced science and technology in a positive way, in contrast to the military forms of technology which the Western powers had used repeatedly to extract new concessions from China. Through these missionary educators, Kang Youwei, Tan Sitong, and others realized that Christianity had served as a unifying, dynamic ideology in Western societies. This understanding of the role of Christianity encouraged the view that Confucianism should be presented as a religion. All these factors made religion a major feature in the thinking of some of the more imaginative innovators, who increasingly understood China's crisis to be one of belief.

For many of these innovators, Buddhism would serve as the major resource from Chinese culture in the effort to construct an adequate new structure of belief. However, it was not institutional Buddhism but rather philosophical Buddhism that provided inspiration for many of those devoted to rebuilding China. The rediscovery of such simple but profound truths as the interrelationship of all life and the potential power of a self-sacrificing individual gave new relevance to this old fixture of Chinese culture. Liu Sifu as a young reformer was linked to Tan Sitong, Zhang Taiyan, and others in this Buddhist revival, which had its origins in the efforts of Yang Wenhui, beginning in the 1880s, to recover the scriptures of Chinese Buddhism. Yang established an institute for the study and reprinting of Buddhist texts, which became a center for regenerating the religion at a time when it was needed most. Tan, Zhang, and the young monk Taixu were among the many who spent time at Yang's institute (see chapter 6). Several of these reformers made tremendously appealing statements about the spiritual power that could be drawn from Buddhism.⁴⁵ Indeed, Shifu's anarchism may be seen as a secularized version of this revived Buddhism. All these efforts reflect the concern to discover a new spiritual basis for modern Chinese life and to express that strength in some systematic way. This concern in Shifu's thinking and activity will be seen time after time in the following chapters.

This need for belief helps to explain the appeal of anarchism as presented by Kropotkin. Kropotkin's principles were comprehensive and systematic. His claim to have built his system on the scientific principle of mutual aid strengthened the appeal of his views. He presented this great principle as also possessing a moral

dimension equally as essential as its scientific significance. Thus, anarchism appeared to be as devoted to the general welfare as Confucianism. Anarchism also addressed those problems of traditional society that concerned revolutionaries. It attacked all forms of authority, from political down through familial, these were seen as irrational, decrepit forms of authority that had produced disaster in contemporary China. The social leveling envisioned in anarchist theory further enhanced its appeal: instead of myriad families ranked according to status and influence, anarchism made one great family of all humankind. This leveling effect offered an important modification to traditional morality. Kropotkin's anarchism fully met the concern for system (*tixi*) that has been especially important in Chinese thought.

Ways In to Anarchism

Two groups of anarchists, one in Paris and one in Tokyo, each independently began to publish journals within a few weeks of each other in the spring of 1907. Each presented a sophisticated theoretical anarchism, providing a much clearer basis for the ideology than previously available to Chinese intellectuals. Although their beginnings were contemporaneous, the two groups presented different versions of anarchism, reflecting in part the background of the two places where they resided. These are two of the three ways in—the *scientific* route of the Paris group and the *essence-ist* route of the Tokyo group (the reasons for these labels will be indicated below). Shifu took a third way in, the *activist* way, which drew from the other two. Each of these "ways in" offers insight on the appeal of anarchism in China.

The three leading figures in the Paris group were Wu Zihui, Li Shizeng, and Zhang Jingjiang. Having established a friendship in 1901, Li and Zhang first went to France in 1902, Zhang to manage his family's import-export business in Paris. Zhang's success in business would make him the financial benefactor of the group's work, but he too became a convinced anarchist. Early on, Zhang started a teahouse that employed Chinese students, launching the work-study idea with which the group would be associated for the next two decades. Li began to study biology. After several years, while also engaged in writing for *New Century*, he put his research to practical application by establishing a bean curd (*doufu*) processing plant, which also provided jobs for Chinese students.

Li and Zhang had met Wu Zihui when they passed through Shanghai en route to France. Wu was some fifteen years older and had turned by stages from an establishment orientation to a career of opposition over several years after 1898. As a teacher he had come into contact with a number of anti-Qing activists. He sojourned briefly in Japan during 1901-2. Wu joined the group who produced the *Jiangsu Journal (Subao)*, when the government clamped down in the "Subao case," Wu made his way to Scotland and then to England. Then at Li Shizeng's invitation, he went to Paris in 1906. During this visit Li gave Wu

an enthusiastic introduction to anarchism. Wu's initial response (as reported in one source) bears noting: "Although Kropotkin's and Bakunin's ideas are fine, it will take three thousand years before they can be implemented."⁴⁶ Wu would repeat this view often during the 1920s when political circumstances led him to compromise his anarchist principles. Here at the beginning, however, Wu accepted Li's rejoinder that people should strive to implement such lofty principles; thus began many years of common effort.

Wu, Li, and Zhang were befriended by several French anarchists, including younger members of the Reclus family and Jean Grave.⁴⁷ By early 1907 they were prepared to introduce anarchism to China. They organized the World Society (*Shijie she*), which in 1906 briefly published a pictorial magazine on a printing press that Zhang Jingjiang had bought in Singapore—another of his contributions. Thus, the Paris group's work actually began several months earlier than the Tokyo group's.⁴⁸ By summer 1907 they turned to print rather than pictures, launching *New Century* (*Xin shiji*), which would become one of the longest-lived of all revolutionary journals of this period. *New Century* would continue publication until May 1910, ceasing when Zhang Jingjiang decided to focus his support for revolution on Sun Zhongshan rather than the journal.⁴⁹

The contacts and environment sketched thus far suggest the nature of the Paris group's anarchism. While their revolutionary concerns grew out of experiences at home, their anarchism was nurtured by their sojourn in the West. Living in one of the great cities of Europe and influenced by French anarchists who regarded even their own culture as needing transformation, they developed a scientific, rationalist attack on Chinese culture. Moved to point out absurdities and irrelevance in the outmoded polity and culture of China, they became China's first modern iconoclasts, enunciating most of the themes in the New Culture generation's critique of Chinese culture a decade later. The first decade of this century was the real beginning of the Chinese Enlightenment, and the Paris group of anarchists were its first *philosophes*.⁵⁰

While much of Chinese thinking in any period has been universalistic, the Paris group assumed that the universals of Western thinking were valid for modern China. This led to their espousal of Esperanto as a world language, which drew fierce attacks from Zhang Taiyan, who at the time was attracted to anarchism but rejected any dilution of Chinese ways. While this and related issues now debated were basically cultural, they were also personal and increasingly political as well, for Zhang had taken the lead in resisting Sun Zhongshan's leadership of the Tongmenghui, and the members of the Paris group stood behind Sun.⁵¹ These major figures in the Paris group all had joined the Tongmenghui by late 1906; their alliance with Sun and his organizations would prove lasting. This political relationship led to the eventual ascension of Wu and Li to prominent roles in the Guomindang by the late 1920s. The Western cultural environment clearly was a major influence in the formulation of the Paris group's anarchism. Initially, it was probably easy for them to forget

the realities of life in China. If they were prepared to make compromises after their return home in 1912, perhaps this reflected their return to those realities. Still, they would remain loyal to some essential features of their anarchist goals, especially to educational projects.

The Tokyo group developed a version of anarchism that seemed to grow naturally out of Chinese tradition. The Tokyo group originated in the activities of the Society for the Study of Socialism (*Shehui zhuyi jiangxi hui*), organized in summer 1907. Key figures in that group were Zhang Taiyan, Liu Shipei and his wife He Zhen, and Zhang Ji. Zhang Taiyan's interest in anarchism faded rather quickly, and the group centered on the much younger Liu Shipei. While Liu's anarchist period also proved to be brief, it was enthusiastic and intellectually consistent.⁵² By 1907 Zhang Ji had already spent several years in Japan. He had translated into Chinese a pamphlet by the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta, for which Zhang Taiyan wrote a preface.

I have chosen the term "essence-ist" to label the anarchism of Liu Shipei and the Tokyo group. This term suggests its Chinese roots while avoiding both *nativist* and *traditionalist*, both of which might seem condescending. This term also suggests a close connection to national essence scholarship, which was at once Liu Shipei's family inheritance and a link to the Japanese setting in which he was working at this time. The *kokusui* movement of middle nineteenth-century Japan helped to inspire the *guocui* movement, in which Liu and Zhang Taiyan became leading figures.⁵³ A basic thrust in *guocui* scholarship and thinking was to circumvent the historical overlay of compromised Confucianism and leap backward to the truth of pristine Chinese ways. Liu Shipei's work on Rousseau's *Social Contract* was part of his effort to search more broadly for the essence of human nature as expressed in natural law. His Tokyo journal was called *Tianyi bao* (Natural Justice). Liu saw potentiality for anarchism in the historic inefficiency of central authority in China. He saw the beginnings of an anarchist society in the features of local autonomy and initiative and in egalitarian and communal habits among the peasantry. This theme had been suggested by discussion during much of the preceding half-century on the meaning of feudalism (*fengjian*) and how that form of local self-government might advance reform.⁵⁴ If some late Qing reformers sought a stronger role for the gentry under the principle of restoring feudalism, however, the anarchist Liu Shipei could extend the principle to the lower orders of society. This theme suggests a link between Liu's essence-ist anarchism and the scientific principles set forth by Kropotkin.

Liu Shipei held genuinely radical views, which were fostered by his national essence thinking. In 1904 he and Lin Xie had produced one of the first vernacular newspapers, *Zhongguo Baihua bao*; later he would recommend that Chinese anarchists study Esperanto. He provided the first full translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, and in explaining it he introduced the concept of historical materialism.⁵⁵ He was among the first to call for peasant involvement in a

Chinese revolution. Liu's view of revolution went beyond mere anti-Manchu hatred; he scoffed at all proposals for reform and rejected state socialism. On the latter issue he agreed with the Paris anarchists, thus establishing a key principle of anarchism that Shifu would later insist was essential in China. With his wife He Zhen, Liu Shipei called for a full-scale social revolution built on feminism. In her many writings for the journal He Zhen linked cultural issues to the political, social, and economic aspects of the liberation of Chinese women.⁵⁶ Although the Tokyo group thus included Western-inspired themes in their anarchism, the major difference from the Paris group was their clear pride in Chinese culture and the belief that Chinese society offered advantages for the transition to an anarchist future. For the Tokyo group, both anarchist principles and the rationale for social transformation grew out of a Chinese essence.

In the conclusion of this study I will survey "ways out" of anarchism, at that point focusing on the late 1920s. Some further discussion of this point as it relates to the major figures in the Tokyo group is in order here, as their ways out so quickly followed their ways in to anarchist principles. Zhang Taiyan seems the best example; indeed his anarchism was never more than a "flirtation." Although he could be mercurial in his causes, Zhang was a patriot of absolute intellectual integrity and personal courage, in search of the best course for China.⁵⁷ While he was attracted to the high ideals of anarchism, Zhang concluded that those ideals were not part of the working values of most human beings. For him it then followed that some sort of powerful authority, resembling Legalism from the Chinese past, would be necessary to operate even a system based on high moral principles.⁵⁸ Liu Shipei, who appears to have been fully persuaded of the validity of anarchist principles, also held only a short-term commitment. His turn away from anarchism involved personal pressures that led to political consequences; Liu ceased revolutionary activity and went over to the side of the Manchu government.⁵⁹

The other major figure in the Tokyo group, Zhang Ji, left Japan to join the Paris group, and like Wu Zihui and Li Shizeng became a senior leader in the Guomindang some twenty years after this time.⁶⁰ At that time, these old Paris anarchists claimed to believe that they would actually advance their anarchist principles by doing all they could to strengthen the Guomindang.⁶¹ It might be that anarchist principles are so nebulous, or that it is so easy to lengthen the span of time deemed necessary for their implementation, that continuing devotion to the principles should not be measured in terms of political commitment.⁶² To anticipate the later discussion of "ways out," let it suffice here to say that two features appear to link the behavior of all those anarchists who sooner or later associated with political authority. First, their behavior points to a basic dilemma in Chinese political thought and behavior, that of a need for authority if only to endorse the grandest of projects. Second, through all these years of revolutionary change, there were few good options for upright people without military power.

Shifu's career reflected both the Tokyo and Paris groups' approaches to anarchist theory and social revolution. However, his activist route represents a distinct third way in to anarchism. For the young Liu there was never much lag between a perception of injustice and action to redress it. He took everything personally. By the time he went to Japan, he was attentive to the many discussions of "destructionism" and "nihilism" then appearing in revolutionary journals (these themes and Liu's activist route to anarchism are addressed in chapter 3). He decided to make assassination his contribution to the revolutionary movement. As shown in the essays he wrote while in prison following his assassination attempt in 1907, he shared a number of interests with the Tokyo group, especially national essence thinking and an attraction to Buddhism. While in prison Liu also was introduced to the Paris group's *New Century*. Although he returned to assassination work after his release from jail, he gradually became convinced of the scientific viewpoint, with its elegant combination of morality and modernity. His growing conviction that anarchist principles offered ultimate truth led to his rejection of Sun Zhongshan and political revolution as of early 1912. Then, as Shifu, he became the apostle of anarchism as presented by Kropotkin, whose principles seemed the perfect guide for modern societies. Because of his activist route to anarchism, Shifu set out to serve as a modern bodhisattva for his principles.

Chapter 3

Assassination and the Radical Ideology: Liu Sifu's Route to Anarchism

Liu Sifu the reformer and anti-Manchu revolutionary left little clear record to indicate how he became Shifu the anarchist. In the absence of fuller information we must consider the revolutionary environment to which Liu responded with his assassination mission in May 1907. Certainly he learned something about anarchism as early as his sojourn in Japan during 1905-6, but he meant his assassination plot of 1907 as a patriotic anti-Manchu action, not as part of an anarchist program for revolution. Yet the information that Liu and other Chinese patriots had about anarchism—or "nihilism" (*xuwwu zhuyi*), as some writers called it—contained much that was consistent with the theoretically sound views that Liu adopted later.

The ideas that influenced Liu and others during the period 1903 through 1907 served as the foundation for the anarchism that Shifu adopted several years later, even though its theoretical associations were somewhat confused at first. This set of ideas, which are accurately termed "proto-anarchism,"¹ was oriented to activists: it served as much for inspiration as for revolutionary theory. Liu was consistent in all phases of his career in seeking to link action to principles. At this early period he was seeking a framework for action, while later as Shifu he set out to match his actions with the anarchist principles that by 1912 had become for him the ultimate theory for transforming people's minds so that society also would be transformed.

Liu's generation undertook "new-style studies" in their quest for national salvation; thousands of them gained the opportunity to study abroad, especially in Japan. Thus, they looked outside China for inspiration and models to guide their revolution-making. To Chinese activists, Russian populists and

European anarchists who favored assassination became compatriots. Activists also drew inspiration from men of determination (*zhishi*) from Chinese tradition and the recent past. These exemplars, whether foreign or Chinese, were extolled in the writings of publicists who sought to advance the revolutionary movement.

While the Chinese models were presented as having acted out of the simple impulse to attack injustice, the bold deeds of Russian and European revolutionaries were placed in the context of a program for removing tyrants and building a new society. Although the outline for revolution thus presented was relatively simple, it stimulated Chinese activists to think in rudimentary theoretical terms, and they came to regard assassination as a tactic essential to revolution. Even at this early point, theory was sufficiently sophisticated to include a concept of class conflict, as the revolutionaries identified their opponents in terms of power and wealth. These elements in Liu Sifu's proto-anarchism are fascinating in themselves, and they offer insight into the thinking of Chinese patriots during this period when the anti-Manchu movement was gathering momentum.²

It is easy in hindsight to criticize Chinese activists of late Qing times for focusing on romantic heroism rather than on organizing a revolutionary movement. In presenting the motivations and actions of these anti-Manchu revolutionaries, I trust it is obvious that I do not mean to glorify violence. The willingness to engage in revolutionary violence reflected both the sense of urgency and the periodic despair discussed in the previous chapter. In what follows here, activists repeatedly say that they hoped through their sacrifices to attract others to the cause of revolution. Liu Sifu and many others were moved by historical and moral examples from Chinese tradition and from recent European experience. That individuals such as Liang Qichao and Chen Duxiu at least briefly felt the appeal of this rationale for revolutionary action is sufficient to indicate its importance at that time. The persistence of these ideas among activists for almost a decade also points to a theme that deserves systematic discussion. To seek to understand them is not the same thing as to endorse their every action.

The Tactic of Assassination and Proto-Anarchism

Beginning in the late 1890s Chinese journals offered scattered notices on socialist movements and activities in Europe. Perceptive Chinese readers could glean more or less accurate information on such figures in European socialism as St.-Simon, Fourier, Proudhon, Bakunin, and Marx. With his broad interests and imagination, Liang Qichao made a number of statements that supported views much more radical than the constitutionalism on which he finally settled. While his thinking changed in response to current developments, Liang was

among the early proponents of destruction as a necessary step before any constructive change could take place.³ Although his reasons for appreciating the work of the nihilists changed, up to 1905 Liang also was rather consistent in supporting the use of assassination as a tactic for reform or for revolution.⁴ Liang also was among the first publicists to express support for socialism as a modern form for traditional Chinese social ideals. His early sojourn in Japan made him one of the first Chinese to receive the stimulus of the late Meiji intellectual environment. Liang's experience shows that an interested Chinese observer could have some meaningful grasp of Western socialism and its various expressions as early as 1903.

During 1903 an unprecedented amount of writing on anarchism and nihilism appeared, and a process began that has been repeated several times among Chinese intellectuals in this century. Then as later, Chinese intellectuals' attraction to specific sets of ideas reflected, at least in part, their perceived needs and their sense of urgency. While a relatively few people would act on the ideas many claimed to espouse, nihilism developed a large popular following. Nihilism recommended a particular tactic, assassination, that had been used effectively by revolutionaries in other countries and offered some prospect of efficacy in China.

The year 1903 also brought a remarkable production of books on socialism translated into Chinese. At least five such books were published during the year, each offering descriptions of socialist ideas and parties in Russia, Europe, and elsewhere in the West.⁵ Some of these discussions of socialism included both anarchism and Marxism. While the view of either ideology presented in these discussions would not have seemed quite satisfactory to informed Westerners, a surprising amount of accurate information came through. Fukui Junzo's *Modern Socialism* (*Jinshi shehui zhuyi* in the translation by Zhao Bishen) presented both anarchism and Marxism adequately while, understandably, lacking information on the most recent period.⁶ In Fukui's book, Proudhon was presented as the founder of anarchism and associated with his best-known statement, "What is property? Property is theft." A brief account of his career and his works was accurate. Proudhon was quoted as saying "I don't think anything can be improved without destruction," yet was described as "constructive." Fukui portrayed Proudhon's scheme for people's banks as the key means by which Proudhon intended to achieve popular control of the economy. Chinese readers likely would not have seen these banks as relevant to their nation's problems, and Fukui's discussion did not point out that the plan for people's banks was just one means by which Proudhon hoped that his anarchist principles would be implemented. Fukui observed that Bakunin had come to Paris in 1847 and "received Proudhon's teachings."⁷ Bakunin had then attempted to create an international movement based on Proudhon's ideas.⁸

Fukui wrote enthusiastically of Marx and his theories. Before Marx, he said, socialism had been nothing more than "idle dreaming."⁹ Marx's theory

could succeed where earlier forms of socialism failed because of its broad scope. Marx proposed a universal system that would apply to all societies. Following a sketch of Marx's career and writings, Fukui outlined Marx's ideas and included some extensive quotations. Fukui found Marx's insight into history and economic development profound. He outlined three stages in the growth of capitalist productivity, from handicraft production with the individual producer; capital through the factory system with large-scale capital. Fukui presented Marx's ideas on the labor theory of value and surplus value; labor was the most important element in productivity because of the opportunity for capitalists to exploit labor. Although he was enthralled with Marx's powers of analysis, Fukui acknowledged that Marx had not explained how to bring about the change from the present system, except for "trends in society and the natural withering away of the capitalist system...."¹⁰ Fukui returned to Marx's emphasis on "natural" change in comparing him with the anarchists:

The anarchists' goals are to destroy state organization by violence. But Marx looks to the withering away of the state [guoyu] through natural tendencies. Thus the former wants to seek it by force, and the latter would achieve the goal through natural means. Both would make free association the basis of social organization, and beyond that, would limit the power of coercion.¹¹

Despite Fukui's obvious preference for Marx's insight, he set out to be an impartial interpreter of these alternative forms of European socialism. For both anarchism and Marxism he presented sufficient accurate information to whet the interests of those Chinese readers who cared to seek further.

Fukui also provided reliable information on the breakup of the International in 1872. The meeting at The Hague had produced irreconcilable differences, he said, with Marx insisting on centralized authority in the organization and Bakunin (here, "Weikeyi") calling for the autonomy of each local group. Furthermore, Fukui said, Bakunin called for "extreme destructionism" (jidusen pokuai zhuyi) in order to remove the state and make a fresh beginning. Bakunin had gathered his supporters into a new alliance that "used the methods of unrestrained violence, which brought the enmity of society, made them lifelong adversaries of the socialist party, and brought insurrection to its extreme."¹² Given their attraction to these same methods, Chinese activists who read Fukui probably recognized anarchists as fellow-travelers, at least, with the nihilists whom they were beginning to admire. The important point about Fukui's portrayal of these two rivals within the European socialist movement is that it was sufficiently accurate to guide Chinese readers who might care to follow up on it for a fuller understanding of either anarchism or Marxism. As of 1903, accurate information was available.

Ironically, the most influential of the books published in 1903, *Modern Anarchism* (*Kinsei museifū shugi*), described the Russian populist movement instead of theoretical anarchism. Its author, Kemuyama Sentaro, was a political

science professor at Waseda University, Kemuyama had written on Russian affairs in the journal *Revue Diplomatique* (*Gaiko jiho*). In *Modern Anarchism* he gave a systematic presentation of revolutionary activity in Russia during the late nineteenth century. Kemuyama's choice of a title was little help to Chinese publicists, who for several years would continue to use anarchism and nihilism interchangeably. The title indicated that Kemuyama was writing about anarchism; in the text he spoke of nihilists, but what he actually described was the work of Russian populist groups.¹³ The Chinese translation of the book carried the title *Freedom's Blood* (*Ziyou xue*), which accurately reflects its import to Chinese readers. Kemuyama intimated that the chief characteristic of nihilists was "extreme revolutionism" (*jiduan geming zhuyi*). Although other kinds of action could meet this characterization, Chinese readers readily inferred that Russian revolutionaries often undertook assassination, and they too should use this tactic.

The Hunanese activist Yang Dusheng worked persistently to convert Kemuyama's information into action in China. At Waseda beginning in 1902, Yang learned from Kemuyama the ideas on revolution that he would circulate during the next few years. Yang helped to produce *Translations from Students Abroad* (*Youxue yibian*), but he is best known for his pamphlet *The New Hunan* (*Xin Hunan*), also written in 1903.¹⁴ Yang returned to China then, just when groups associated with Huang Xing were reorganizing into the Huaxinghui. *The New Hunan* became the new organization's chief propaganda statement, calling for the establishment of Hunan as a base for nationwide revolution.

In a section entitled "Destruction" Yang presented some of the ideas he had absorbed about the Russian revolutionary movement. First he justified the process of destruction, a theme important in itself. "In reconstructing society, we can't simply reorganize the old society; we must destroy the old society and cleanse it."¹⁵ By connecting destruction to the process of renewal, Yang presented a psychologically liberating idea to an elite accustomed to viewing society as stable and resistant to change. The Russian nihilists, Yang said, best exemplified the spirit of destruction and provided a pattern for revolution:

For the spirit of destruction in every country in the world today, none is more ardent than the Nihilist Party of Russia.... Russian nihilism goes from a period of revolutionary literature to a period of propaganda and exhortation, and from this to a period of assassination and terror.¹⁶

Yang was among the first writers to lay out a timetable for revolution. However, the pattern he outlined here did not match events in Russia, nor would later Chinese publicists act according to the timetables they suggested as variants of this one offered by Yang.

Although Yang made few other references to assassination in *The New Hunan*, his activities during 1904-5 made it clear that this was his preferred form of revolutionary violence. Yang also seems more responsible than anyone

else for introducing the assassination corps as an organizational form. He started three such groups himself, and in both 1904 and 1905 he tried unsuccessfully to carry out assassination attacks in Beijing.¹⁷

Yang's emphasis on the corps did not reflect the usual approach to assassination during the years 1903-7. Rather, during this period, activists carried out solitary missions; although several had assistants in the plots they prepared, most set out from the beginning to "do the deed" themselves. As the following discussion will show, it is appropriate to label this as the period of the solitary heroic assassin. During the last period before the Revolution of 1911, beginning in 1910 and continuing into early 1912, the assassination corps would become the typical organizational form. Liu Sifu's activities reflected the respective trends of the two periods (see chapter 5 for a discussion of the later period).¹⁸

Another influential publicist of this period was Lin Xie, a Fujianese who became associated with the radical movement in the lower Yangzi region. As of 1904 Lin was attempting to foster revolution through the *Chinese Vernacular News* (*Zhongguo baihua bao*), which he published at Shanghai.¹⁹ In "A Citizen's Letter of Opinion," which ran during the first half of 1904, Lin presented the most systematic and explicit discussion of assassination in the entire body of materials on the subject.²⁰ In an installment entitled "The Education of Assassins," Lin noted the importance of education in building national strength. In powerful nations, he said, education helped to maintain strength. But the Chinese needed education that would produce immediate results; they needed a program that would prepare them to carry out assassinations.

Lin then outlined five academic terms (*xueqi*) for training assassins. The first would develop political thought by refining students' common-sense understanding of political order and pointing out the failures of the current government. The second term would seek to eradicate "religious superstition," by which Lin meant the blind loyalty fostered by those who claimed to represent Confucius. A true understanding of the concepts of loyalty and public service would show that most officials, and the emperor himself, were impostors who should be executed as common criminals. Correct understanding of these points, Lin said, would liberate people's courage to attack the transgressors. Learning to "trust the guidance of history" would be the third subject. The fourth term would be devoted to physical education, an essential for assassins:

If you can't leap walls you can't be an assassin; if you can't cross creeks and bound over mountain streams you can't be an assassin; if you can't hide yourself in the shadows you can't be an assassin.²¹

The final term would offer scientific knowledge useful to assassins. Here Lin indicated his preference among modern weapons—explosives (which also was the choice of most who attempted assassinations). Those in ancient China who

had tried assassinations had missed their targets, Lin said, because their weapons were crude.

If there had been explosives and pistols then, even if you'd had ten Qin Shihuang, they all would have been flat dead; how could there have been such failures as these? But now, besides daggers, swords, knives, and clubs, we have pistols and explosives, and these two are easily much better than all the others. Explosives are even better than pistols, and besides these there are still all kinds of poisons with which you can assassinate people.²²

With this last of Lin's five subjects, the education of assassins would be complete.

Lin then presented several arguments for the appropriateness of assassination to meet China's needs. Revolution could not succeed with a single stroke, he said, and China was not yet fully prepared; assassination would complete the preparations. In practical terms, Lin said it was "extremely easy to succeed" with assassination. The tactic did not require much money, or many people, or coordination of groups. There was no risk of foreign intervention. Nor would assassination implicate or frighten innocent people in the area where it was undertaken (an argument undermined several times by some who attempted to act on Lin's admonitions). Yet another advantage was that assassinations would terrify the authorities. Finally, Lin justified assassination in terms of the logic of revolutionary justice. Assassination is good because it protects people's well-being and contributes to the progress of society, which

may be obstructed by one or two religious leaders, or educators, or politicians or capitalists, or lofty gentry or clan elders.... If one person can give these obstructionists who have power and authority a dagger to chew on, then there is no telling how fast society can progress.²³

In naming kinds of people who might be attacked, Lin indicated who were the enemies of revolution. Lin and other writers laid down an elementary idea of class struggle, a simple "us vs. them" confrontation between the people and a range of authority figures—economic, religious, and familial. In sections on Proudhon and Marx, Fukui's book on socialism emphasized the economic domination of the capitalist and landlord classes, providing a focus for revolution to those who read it.²⁴ Lin hoped to present his "education for assassins" to those of "lower-class society" (*xiadeng shehui*), using *baihua* teaching materials.²⁵ Another writer (almost certainly Yang Dusheng writing under a pseudonym) identified lower-class society as secret societies, workers, and soldiers.²⁶ Thus, a rudimentary ideology of class struggle emerged at least as early as 1903, and advocates of assassination were among the first in China to call for social revolution. While these writers included officials of the imperial government among the enemies of revolution, their appeals omitted the

fierce anti-Manchuism that would become a Tongmenghui rallying cry. The absence of racism in these early writings suggests an attempt to use a broader appeal than the one the Tongmenghui ultimately chose.

Lin Xie went on to observe that all the European countries had seen the work of assassins in recent times. He supported this statement with a list of quotations from Europeans urging assassination or terror and a chronological table showing attacks on prominent political figures in Europe.²⁷ Five rulers had been dispatched, Lin noted, and countless high officials. He concluded:

You can see that these events are presently most stylish and common in the Western countries. Ah, you affect foreign hairstyles and cut your queues, wear straw hats and leather shoes, smoke, and put on metal-rimmed spectacles—you all know how to study current hairstyles. I tell you, these assassins are more timely than hairstyles now, and you ought to study them!²⁸

Still another reason to use assassination was its role in China's past. Sima Qian had established this as a positive image by including a chapter on assassins in his *Historical Record* (*Shi ji*). In his appeal to "trust the guidance of history," Lin presented a long list of Chinese assassins, ranging in time from the Warring States period to late Qing. Of the several figures he mentions from Warring States times, Yu Rang of the state of Jin seems an appropriate model for the assassins of the revolutionary movement.²⁹ After serving two unappreciative lords, Yu Rang entered the service of Zhi Bo when the latter defeated the second of those lords. Zhi Bo appreciated Yu Rang's many talents, so Yu Rang served his new lord faithfully. In time Zhi Bo was defeated and killed by Xiangzi, another lord; thereafter Yu Rang lived for the sole purpose of avenging Zhi Bo. When Xiangzi finally captured him Yu Rang made a last request, asking Xiangzi to remove his robe. Xiangzi admired Rang's nobility of purpose and granted the request. Rang slashed at the robe, then fell on his sword.³⁰ For most of the would-be assassins in the revolutionary movement as for Yu Rang, the symbolic act was as important as tactical success.

Lin also mentioned Jing Ke and Zhang Liang, who made separate attempts to kill the king of Qin (later Qin Shihuangdi). And he included Jing Qing, who plotted an attack on Zhu Di (the Yongle emperor) when the latter claimed the Ming throne at Nanjing in 1402. Appealing to female readers, Lin also included two heroines who supposedly lived during Tang times, Nie Yinniang ("Maiden Nie of the Yin Force?") and Hong Xian ("Red Thread"). Stories about both, embellished in popular tales and the theater, included several common features: marvelous attributes such as the ability to prepare supernatural pills or potions, to fly, and to change form. Both undertook assassination missions for lordly benefactors.

Thus, Lin and other publicists sought to link the deeds of European nihilists to precedents from Chinese history and literature. As a contributor to Lin's

Zhongguo baihua bao during 1904, Liu Shipei also urged patriots to emulate earlier Chinese heroes who had undertaken assassination.³¹ This heroic tradition maintained a shadowy line between myth and historical fact; virtue was often manifested through supreme if not superhuman effort and through the sacrifices of assassins who provided these examples.

Buddhism served as another source of inspiration for self-sacrifice and put heroism in religious terms. Tan Sitong had emphasized the model of the bodhisattva for self-sacrificing patriots and had taken on this role in his martyrdom following the Hundred Days Reforms in 1898.³² Both Zhang Taiyan and Liu Shipei saw in Buddhism a great spiritual resource from the national essence that could serve in China's crisis.³³ Buddhism held a vital place in Liu Sifu's thinking. Like Tan Sitong, he was moved by the bodhisattva ideal as he prepared to sacrifice himself in an assassination plot. This influence of Buddhism is one of the themes in the Liu's prison essays discussed in the next chapter.

The tradition of protest by suicide constituted yet another justification for sacrificial death. Beginning with Qu Yuan, the statesman poet of the ancient state of Chu who drowned himself after being rejected by his ruler, the protest suicide became an honorable way for frustrated men of talent to express dissent.³⁴ In the early years of the twentieth century, frustration and anxiety plagued many young intellectuals. Concern for China drove many into the revolutionary movement, through which they hoped to prepare for a better future. Hope alternated with despair, and when the latter mood dominated, an honorable suicide might seem attractive. This impulse too could serve the cause of revolution, as one Japanese publicist pointed out. In *Review of Revolutions* (*Kakumei hyoron*), a journal published during 1906-7, this writer urged his Chinese readers, "Those who would commit suicide out of anguish should instead carry out assassination for the revolution."³⁵ The appeal of an heroic suicide might help to explain the incompetence with weapons that characterized almost all the assassination attempts during the years 1903-7. Many of these episodes may be interpreted as ritual suicides rather than well-planned attempts at revolutionary violence.

Wu Yue was among those whom Yang Dusheng influenced; as noted above, Yang's impact came not just through the written word. When Yang organized the Northern Assassination Corps to try to kill Tieliang, the Manchu minister of war, Wu joined the group. However, the plot which Wu actually carried out came in September 1905 at the Beijing railway station as five imperial commissioners prepared to go to Japan and Europe to study constitutional systems. This is one of the best-known assassination attempts of the entire revolutionary movement. Wu's background as an activist is also of interest because of his connection with Chen Duxiu, who later played major roles as leader of the New Culture movement and organizer of the Chinese Communist Party.

Chen had become an activist following a sojourn in Japan in 1902-3. After returning to China, he became involved in various projects in Shanghai, Nanjing, and his home area of Anqing, Anhui. Chen's interest in the themes of nativism and assassination as inspired by Russian populists, suggests the widespread influence of the ideas discussed in this and the next chapter. Chen joined the assassination squad organized by Yang Dusheng in Shanghai in 1904, as did Cai Yuanpei, among others. Back in Wuhu, another Anhui city not far from Nanjing, Chen and such other activists as Liu Shipei and Su Manshu became associated with the Anhui Public School, which they made a base for revolutionary activity. In addition to publishing the *Anhui Common Speech Journal* (*Anhui suhua bao*), Chen organized the Warrior Yue Society, named in honor of the Song patriot Yue Fei, as a group for assassination and other forms of revolutionary violence. Wu Yue had been one of Chen's students, and he joined the Warrior Yue Society. Wu planned his assassination mission in Wuhu with Chen Duxiu and other members of the society.³⁶

When Wu Yue undertook to attack the five ministers at the Beijing railroad station, he was blown up with the bomb he meant to throw at them. His spectacular failure received nationwide attention and an enthusiastic hearing for his ideas. In the wake of the incident, Wu's purposes for the mission were set forth in a relatively mild statement.³⁷ He also left behind a larger testament outlining his view of revolution and the role of violence in it; this was not widely disseminated until *Minbao* published it in a special edition called "Heaven's Vengeance" (*Tian tao*) in April 1907.³⁸ Here Wu described his background in an impoverished minor official family, his route to activism through Liang Qichao's *Qingyi bao* and a reading list of revolutionary pamphlets and journals, and his intention to kill Tieliang. He had come to realize that Han reformers had been duped by the Manchus, he said, and had concluded that the only solution was to get rid of the Manchus.

There are two ways to expel the Manchus: one is assassination; the other is revolution. Assassination is the cause, revolution is the result. Assassination can be accomplished by an individual, but revolution is ineffective without mass strength. Today is not a period of revolution, but a period of assassination.³⁹

Thus, Wu like others made use of the "period of assassination" concept; he claimed to see the pattern suggested in this quotation in the experiences of the European countries and Japan. For Wu as for Yang Dusheng, however, the Russian nihilists remained the best models.⁴⁰

Wu Yue went further, calling the period of assassination a time to practice what he called "assassinationism" (*ansha zhuyi*). "If today we want to build the people's morale, nothing is better than to carry out assassinationism." The advantage of killing a few Manchu leaders would be to scare all the others.

"Killing one frightens a hundred, killing a hundred frightens a thousand... If we kill them endlessly, the alarm also will be endless."⁴¹

Wu's desire to sacrifice himself for the cause of revolution was equally clear: "I wish that after I die, one me might become a million me's; when those in front fall, those in the rear will stand up, not dying and not resting, not ceasing and not stopping—then my death will be effective."⁴² Wu Yue's comments about his mission reflect the range of influences described above. Like Tan Sitong, Wu sought to be a "man of determination." At the same time, he saw himself as following the example of Russian nihilists. But most importantly, he was by no means the only revolutionary to plan an assassination or to move so far with a plot as to harm himself; he was one of a number of such activists. While their "extreme revolutionism" was not theoretical anarchism, the rudimentary principles that accompanied this revolutionism shared the major concerns of anarchism.

Wu Yue's sensational attack came at the end of an eventful summer in 1905, only weeks after the Tongmenghui was organized. Although Sun Yatsen himself generally opposed assassination schemes, his movement's organ, *Min bao*, continued to present the image of nihilist activity and to encourage assassination specifically. Before Wu Yue's testament appeared in spring 1907, such notable Tongmenghui figures as Song Jiaoren and Liao Zhongkai wrote articles on revolutionary activity in Russia or on the nihilists.⁴³

In addition to its printed material, *Min bao* used illustrations to depict nihilists, assassins, and other revolutionaries, most of them Russian. Some are portraits in heroic repose; a few are sickeningly graphic, as a photograph of Wu Yue at the scene of his unsuccessful attack. Fully 40 percent of *Min bao*'s illustrations showed such subjects.⁴⁴ While this major revolutionary journal did not recommend assassination exclusively, it endorsed assassination as a tactic. More broadly and importantly, in appropriating the image of nihilists and anarchists, *Min bao* linked revolutionary activism with these movements in the West and predisposed readers to respond favorably to the ideas associated with them—even though those ideas were not well understood before 1907.

Liu Sifu's Assassination Attempt in 1907

Liu Sifu was one of those moved to act on the admonitions and examples described above. Soon after returning to China in 1906, Liu went to Wuzhou, Guangxi, to teach at a new-style school. There he met Xie Yingbo, an activist from Guangzhou who was a year or two older than himself.⁴⁵ The two would participate together in many activities until 1912, when Xie chose to continue to follow Sun Yatsen. Also at Wuzhou, Liu was visited by Huang Xing as the Tongmenghui leader traveled in the southwest.⁴⁶ Huang knew of Liu's interest in assassination, and presumably they discussed ways by which Liu's willingness to undertake a mission might be coordinated with other Tongmenghui plans.

Liu and Xie went to Hong Kong soon after Huang Xing's visit. There they helped to launch the *Eastern Journal (Dongfang bao)* as a successor to the journals associated with Zheng Guangong.⁴⁷ The two also taught at Anhuai Girls' School, where Xie introduced Liu to Ding Xiangtian.⁴⁸ Their romantic relationship began at this time, and Ding was a part of Liu's life from this time until his death.

Liu engaged in other activities during late 1906 and early 1907, working out of the Hong Kong branch office of the Tongmenghui.⁴⁹ But other projects soon gave way to his preparations for an assassination mission. Feng Ziyou notes that other members of the branch organization, including Wang Jingwei, agreed that Liu should attempt an assassination mission at this point.⁵⁰ He worked with explosives at the branch office, an activity that soon had to be taken elsewhere. Liu had shifted his preparations to a quieter spot when an accidental explosion splashed his face with small wounds. After getting these treated in Macao, he resumed his preparations at the rural home of Li Jitang, a wealthy Tongmenghui supporter.⁵¹ His accident had already caused a change in the Alliance's plans for Liu's mission; originally it was to have been coordinated with larger risings at Chaozhou and Huizhou, in the eastern part of Guangdong. The plan had called for Liu to attack Li Zhun, the Guangdong naval commander, as armed attacks were made at the two cities. After Liu's accident, it was decided that he would make a separate attack on Li Zhun, whom the revolutionaries regarded as a resourceful and tenacious enemy.

Reconnaissance by Liu's assistants in the planned attack revealed that Li Zhun made regular visits to the governor-general's office on the first and fifteenth of each month.⁵² Liu decided to make his attempt on the first of May as Li left the provincial government yamen. A few days before then, Liu moved into a third-floor room that the Tongmenghui branch organization had rented from a small private school located near the yamen. In the early morning of May first, Zhang Gushan, one of the assistants, waited nearby to tell Liu when Li Zhun left the yamen. As he waited, Zhang heard an explosion. Rushing to Liu's room, he found Sifu lying in bed, bathed in his own blood, with his left hand blown off. A group of students at a medical school down the street had also heard the explosion. As they ran outside, they met Zhang as he sought help for his injured comrade.

Liu had overslept and thus felt hurried as he prepared his bombs for the attack. Assembly of the bombs called for mixing powdered and liquid mercury and then screwing together two halves of a metal casing. In his hurry Liu had spilled some of the volatile mixture, setting off the explosion. When Zhang reached his room, Sifu was somehow still conscious, and he instructed Zhang to put the bombs in the chamber-pot to deactivate them and to hide some letters under the bed.

Perhaps Sifu had overslept because he had labored late writing these letters. They were addressed to Xie Yingbo, his cousin Liu Yuehang, and his sisters.

Fortunately the authorities, who also arrived fairly quickly, never discovered the letters.⁵³ Although the letters were addressed to close friends and family members, Liu surely meant them for a much larger audience. For him as for Wu Yue and most others who undertook these actions, a testament was almost as important as the doing of the deed.

The medical students had dealt effectively with Liu's wounds, and when the police arrived they sent him to a hospital. There a French doctor, fearing complications from the wound, amputated the remainder of Liu's lower left arm.⁵⁴ At least one memoirist suggests that this amputation was done out of spite. The military official at the provincial yamen was Zheng Rong, whom Liu had challenged several years earlier in seeking funds for his girls' school in Xiangshan.⁵⁵ Incarceration at the provincial prison in Guangzhou followed Liu's release from medical care. Some confusion surrounded Sifu's case. Initially he had told the authorities that his name was Li Deshan, but soon his true identity became widely known.⁵⁶ No formal charges were lodged; for the entire period of two-and-a-half years in jail, Liu was simply held as a suspect.

Early efforts to achieve some relief for Liu focused on getting him moved to the local jail in Xiangshan. Friends among the local gentry worked for such a decision, but Mo Jipeng says that this situation brought about the first close association between Liu and Zheng Bi'an. At the time, Zheng was in Beijing trying to establish a reputation as a newspaper columnist, and he enjoyed a following that included influential people in the capital. By using his influence, Mo says, Zheng was able to have Liu transferred to the facility in his hometown.⁵⁷ However it was arranged, after about a year Sifu was transferred to the local jail in Xiangshan, from which he could see his family's home. Soon after this transfer, Ding Xiangtian spent several weeks with the Liu family.⁵⁸ Liu Bingchang tried every approach he could think of to achieve his son's release, but none of his efforts succeeded. Some of these schemes were costly; eventually the father felt obliged to take an official appointment in Changchun, in the northeast, in order to provide an income.⁵⁹ Sifu's release came in autumn 1909, when at last an effective combination of influence from sympathetic officials came about. Chen Jinghua, an influential member of the local elite in Xiangshan who sometimes sided with the revolutionaries, was able to convince the provincial officials that Liu should be released.⁶⁰

Liu's prison experience was not lost time. He produced a number of essays, which reveal his thinking at this point in his development. Whatever the nature of his earlier introduction to anarchism, while in jail he had opportunities to read some issues of the Paris group's *New Century*, which provided a solid theoretical understanding of anarchist ideas. Then, not long after his release from jail, Liu resumed his work on behalf of the revolutionary movement, once again concentrating on assassination activity. At this later time, however, he chose to organize an assassination corps rather than attempt the kind of solo

mission he had planned in 1907. These activities are discussed in the next two chapters.

The revolutionary careers of Liu Sifu and Liu Shipei invite comparison. Both were born in 1884. Both were precocious scholars, demonstrably talented. Liu Sifu's family lacked the scholarly eminence of Liu Shipei's; Sifu was a slightly less brilliant example of the young scholar turned revolutionary. Both were strongly influenced by the Han School approach to scholarship; both pursued many of the same themes in their scholarship and reached the same views about them.

Liu Shipei worked out his position as an anarchist well in advance of Liu Sifu. Peter Zarrow has shown convincingly how Shipei became an anarchist, in a process that largely stayed inside traditional Chinese thought and that was assisted but not necessarily dependent on the influence of Japanese anarchists. Liu Sifu, on the other hand, remained some distance from a convinced anarchist as of his assassination plot in 1907; for him the example of Russian "nihilists" and Chinese *zhishi* were key influences at this point. As important as ideas were to Sifu, action was even more important, and the link between one's thinking and one's behavior. The pattern of action linked to ideals, consistent throughout his career, shows clearly here. Thus, when Liu Sifu's commitment to anarchism did develop, it proved to be lasting.

Chapter 4

Liu's Prison Essays

The group of essays Liu Sifu wrote while in prison at Shiqi during 1908-9 provide the only extensive record of his thinking for the entire period before he became an anarchist. While we know that Liu also read copies of *New Century* during this period in jail and was becoming acquainted with anarchist theory through that journal, the prison essays reflect only predispositions to accept anarchism rather than clear suggestions of this as a new influence. The essays reveal Liu's involvement in the anti-Manchu revolutionary movement and his abiding interest in social reform. These themes are expressed in terms of national essence (*guocui*) scholarship. The most important influence here is that of Buddhism, which Liu like other national essence writers regarded as a powerful resource for renewal in China. These themes mark Liu Sifu as a cultural conservative at this point in his development. The views expressed in the essays show the possibilities of this outlook for both political and cultural radicalism. However, Liu Sifu differed from most others of the national essence viewpoint in evolving, within three more years, to a more extreme revolutionary position based on anarchism.

Zheng Bi'an preserved the prison essays and, many years later, was responsible for getting them reprinted in a 1949 edition of *Zhongshan Documents* (*Zhongshan wenxian*). Zheng was editor of *Xiangshan Weekly* (*Xiangshan xunkan*), a local reform journal in which the essays, written under various pseudonyms, originally appeared during the period when Liu was in jail.¹ In an introductory note to the 1949 reprinting, Zheng aptly described Liu as an ardent young man who sought to "spread nationalism, and at the same time was absorbed with philology and with Buddhist scriptures" at the time he wrote these essays.² How was it possible for essays written by a prisoner to be published

in a local newspaper? Conditions in prison were usually easier for scholars than for people without rank or influence. People of means could avoid deprivation and even enjoy some comfort while in prison, if only because jailers were among the hangers-on at the local yamen and susceptible to bribes.³ Thus, Liu enjoyed the use of books from his library at home, which helped him in preparing the studies of Guangdong dialects that were said to have impressed local authorities enough that they finally decided to release this talented scholar. Liu's younger brother Shixin brought these materials to Sifu's cell, as well as the copies of *New Century* that he read during this period.⁴ If books and journals could be carried in, essays on a few sheets of notepaper could as easily be spirited out.

There are eleven of these essays, ranging from as short as a single paragraph to as long as several pages. They cover a range of subjects, from Sifu's long-standing concern for female equality and his belief in the need for new-style people to his views on the role of ethnic minorities in the nation. He gave special attention to a standard national essence theme, the claim that Confucius and his followers had misappropriated the common cultural inheritance. His cultural conservatism is displayed especially in his views on matters of language, its use and deterioration, and on the "new literature," which he believed lacked depth and seriousness. For Liu Sifu in 1908-9, prison did not mean withdrawal from the issues that had brought him into the revolutionary movement, but rather an opportunity for reflection on those issues and a platform, through the essays, for addressing other patriots about them.

On Han Learning and National Essence in the Prison Essays

Zheng Bi'an's characterization of Liu as engrossed in Han Learning (*Hanxue*, for which "Han School" is also used below) provides a good starting point for considering the influences reflected in Liu's prison essays. The term Han Learning originated in early Qing times as the manifestation of scholars' desire to recover the texts and scholarly techniques of Han times. While there is some distinction between the meanings of *Hanxue* and *kaozheng* ("evidential research," the latter starting as a movement somewhat earlier, during late Ming), there was little difference between the two as to scholarly method or emphasis.⁵ As Qing rule began, these Han loyalists blamed the subjectivism of Ming Confucianists such as Wang Yangming (1472-1529) and Li Zhi (1527-1602) for China's defeat at the hands of the Manchus. Gu Yanwu (1613-82), one of Liu Sifu's heroes, led the way in breaking with subjectivism and insisting on practical study of objective realities. These concerns led directly to a quest for correct texts and study of the meanings of the texts at the time they were formed.⁶

Centered in the lower Yangzi area, the *kaozheng* movement grew and flourished, but began to lose momentum by the late eighteenth century.⁷ Both the *New Text* and 'statecraft' movements began in this reaction against *kaozheng* scholarship, their proponents insisting that scholarship should have a positive effect on policy. However, these new movements also used *kaozheng* methods, which had become established in scholarship over the previous two centuries.⁸ Thus, things had come full circle for Han Learning and *kaozheng* methods; having begun as a reaction to late Ming subjectivism, these movements aroused opponents who saw their own approach as sterile and irrelevant. Still, Han Learning retained an influential following throughout the nineteenth century.

The point for our present purposes is that these streams in scholarly and political thinking figured prominently in shaping that part of the intellectual background of the anti-Manchu revolutionary movement which came from the Chinese tradition. While Liu Sifu's basic position was as an advocate of Han Learning, his presentation of its themes might differ from that of earlier adherents. If he used Gu Yanwu to support his position, for example, another writer might also use Gu to bolster a rather different view. By this time the fund of references was rich and varied. Liu and others used the references for their own purposes.

Where did the national essence movement fit into this flow of traditional thought? National essence writers were close in spirit to the themes of Han Learning. As Liu Sifu in these prison essays, they developed to its fullest the Han School's suggestion that the *zhuzi* ('all the Masters'—as it were, the other 'ninety-nine' non-Confucians who comprised the Hundred Schools of late Zhou thought) provided alternatives much preferable to Confucius and his followers, who had built the flawed relationship between early Confucianism and the state. But *guocui* thinking seems somewhat more desperate than that of the Han School. National essence thinkers felt a sense of impending disaster and, consciously or not, were prepared to be both more manipulative and more imaginative in their use of tradition. This feature of *guocui* thought shows clearly in a willingness to overlook Buddhism's alien origins and relatively late absorption into Chinese tradition.⁹

Liu Sifu's interest in Han Learning is one of the few clearly established facts about his academic background. Although we have no specific information as to where and with whom he studied, it is not difficult to suggest his links to this kind of scholarship. Sifu probably was moved by Zhang Taiyan's appeals to apply the national essence spirit and style after Zhang's arrival in Tokyo in summer 1906. However, Sifu might already have encountered Han School methods earlier and closer to home.

The Sea of Learning Academy (*Xuehai tang*) had been established as a center for *kaozheng* scholarship in Guangzhou in 1820.¹⁰ This school had become the most influential academy in the region and had continued to feature *kaozheng* scholarship.¹¹ Several local institutions in Xiangshan belonged to a

network of academies linked to Xuehai tang in an increasingly urbanized region.¹² Thus, although there were new and more urgent concerns after the turn of the century, the Han School remained solidly established in Guangdong, and especially at Guangzhou. If he was not trained in this tradition as a young scholar, Liu Sifu certainly knew where the resources for Han Learning were available when he decided to pursue them. Returning to his failure on the provincial examination in 1900 or 1901, his lackadaisical performance resulted from frustration he already felt about the system into which success on that examination would lead. Soon afterward, he made Han Learning the viewpoint of his antiestablishment thinking, and added his own themes from national essence thinking as years passed.

Themes in the Prison Essays

Outright rejection of Confucius and his followers is a strong and persistent theme in Liu's prison essays. Like other national essence writers, Liu Sifu believed that Confucianism had no right to claim the heritage of classical literature in its entirety. More directly relevant to China's current predicament, Liu blamed Confucianism for the moral blindness and self-seeking attitudes typical of officialdom. Domestically, the disastrous result of these failures had been the odious domination by the Manchus, which Confucianists had abetted by a traitorous complicity. In the larger world, the consequence of this enduring dominance by an alien group was the national weakness that made China easy prey for rapacious foreigners. Like most others of the national essence outlook, Liu expressed greater concern about the moral weakness that had tolerated bad government than the threat to national survival, which many revolutionaries saw as the major consequence of bad government. This concern with morality would carry over into Shifu's anarchism.

Attacks on Confucianism occupy Liu in two of the prison essays. In the first, "Changing the Names of the Classics" (*Gai jing hao*), he observed that before Confucius' time the Classics had been regarded as the common heritage of the Chinese people.¹³ Then, even though Confucius himself had written only the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and commentaries on the *Book of Changes*, his followers had claimed the earlier books as the exclusive property of the Confucian tradition. Since this misappropriation had been accomplished only Confucianism had thrived, and all scholars accepted the Confucian interpretations of these great books. In the same process other more important aspects of greatness in China's ancient civilization had been obscured. Then over many later generations so much writing was produced that classification became necessary, and later scholars who also understood things in Confucian terms—had set up the "sixteen categories" (*shiliu bu*). All such Confucianist biases would be eliminated, Liu believed, if the names of the Classics were changed, that is, if they were no longer regarded as Classics. Then ancient

values would be rescued from this Confucianist perversion, people could evaluate all books on their own merit, and China's heritage could be set straight. The spell of Confucianism would be broken.

Another extended attack on Confucianism appears in "Slanderous Talk from a Rustic Hut" (*Zhongan lanyu*).¹⁴ Here Liu turned to the effects of official Confucianism on generations of talented Chinese and criticized major Confucian thinkers. Since Western Han times, Liu asserted, scholars had begun to take Confucian principles on faith. Although Confucianism was not a religion, the effect was the same as if it had been. Belief in Confucian principles established and perpetuated the social system in which fathers rule their children, husbands rule their wives, and family roles are highly stratified. Thus, Liu says, scholars gave up their freedom of thought in Han times, exchanging it for a belief in Confucius. Liu implicated every generation of Confucian thinkers and the schools associated with them, from Kang Youwei back to Confucius himself. The School of Idealism, the Song School, the scholars of Han times, Mencius, and finally Confucius himself all, Liu said, were guilty of perverting the heritage which, correctly understood, would have kept China vibrant and strong. For Liu Sifu as for many of his contemporaries, Han School training and the national essence viewpoint produced intellectual liberation from Confucianism.

National essence thinking valued the heterodox thinkers, the *zhuzi* ("all the masters"), as alternatives to Confucianism. While Liu had concentrated on *zhuzi* studies a few years earlier, by 1908-9 when he wrote these essays, he regarded Buddhism as the most relevant part of Chinese tradition for addressing the crisis of the early twentieth century. (We will return to Liu's views on Buddhism.) All who were influenced by the national essence movement looked to Chinese tradition, but important differences in attitude were possible. While Zhang Taiyan and even Liu Shipei—the latter the same age as Liu Sifu—seemed to favor a restoration of ancient values, Liu Sifu evinces a desire to change the present with a new application of those values. But at this point in his development Liu Sifu sought universal values in Chinese tradition itself, as did others in the national essence movement.

Equality was one of these universal values; if in its modern form it came from abroad, Sifu found a basis for it in early Chinese society. Equality for women and girls had long been one of his major themes for reform. He returns to this theme again in two of the briefer essays, "The View of Male-Female Equality at the Time the Characters Were Formulated" and "The Buddhist View of Male-Female Equality."¹⁵ The former essay displays Liu's talent in philology (*xiaoxue*), another Han School discipline. He develops the point that the word for wife, *qi*, had originally been a term of respect. But as society developed, the view changed and women came to be held in low esteem. Unfortunately, Sifu says, it was at this time that the concept of the male-female relationship became fixed.¹⁶ In Buddhism also Liu found clear evidence to support the principle of sexual equality. Although scriptures include many

exhortations against physical desire between the sexes, against monks discussing doctrine with women, and against women as devotees, Liu observed that the Buddha himself had changed his attitude about women after his aunt became a nun.¹⁷ The scriptures also state that women are superior to men in terms of knowing themselves spiritually, and thus more readily attain the Buddha-nature. Women of this kind are as men, said the Buddha, and this, Liu says, indicates the Buddha's view on equality of the sexes.

Equality should also extend to the many ethnic groups that made up the population of China. This position suggests Liu's independence in applying national essence thought. Liu wrote in response to the theory of the French scholar Terrien de Lacouperie, whose views on the origins of the Chinese people had been accepted for a time by Zhang Taiyan and Liu Shipei.¹⁸ (Both Zhang and Liu Shipei had discarded Lacouperie's theory by the time Liu Sifu wrote, but the latter might not have known this because of his incarceration.) Liu Sifu concluded his essay by stating a point that had caused the other two to back away from Lacouperie's theory: Questions of who was where first were extremely complicated and after all, irrelevant. The process of civilization in China had involved the acculturation of vast areas and large numbers of people to the Han culture, which had originated in the north. The acculturation had been gradual, Liu said, and generally peaceful; it had produced cultural unity throughout China. Most importantly, this process bore little resemblance to the "viciousness of colonial policies" (*zhimin zhengce zhi langdu*) which foreign powers were then applying in China.¹⁹ Liu had launched his argument with a statement about his own research into the origin of the Miao people and then discussed several other questions concerning the original occupancy and extent of several areas. In concluding, he urged that the Miao be given equal education so that they could develop the ability to govern themselves; he likened such a policy to the treatment of Negroes in the United States. As a nationalist himself, Liu said, he recognized the importance of extending the principle of self-government to China's minorities.²⁰ Liu's views on this issue placed him among the most progressive minded of the revolutionary period and suggest the preoccupations with local autonomy and mutual aid that are essential to anarchism.

Liu Sifu also shows us here that the change he seeks has substance, that it involves much more than being "new-style." In a discussion of morality, he sets forth his concerns about "new youth" (*xin xiaonian*), "new 'men of determination,'" (*xin zhishi*) and more broadly, "people of the new society" (*xin shehui zhi renwu*). The new youth like to eat Western-style food, he says, and put on Western-style clothes and wear their hair in Western styles. The young women wear perfume, and the young men smoke cigars; they like the new, more open relationship between the sexes. They worship English and like to read translated books, "but they don't open their mouths to say 'freedom' and 'equality'."²¹ He sees hypocrisy in the new *zhishi*, who have the skills to "hang out a stream

of words" when they rise to speak, or to dash off essays for their journals. But they "base their plans on private morality and talk about public morality."²² "To rely on such as these to save the nation is just like saddling up a broken-down horse and asking it to go a thousand *li*, or depending on rotted timbers to hold up a great building." And the new society has teachers and school administrators, "officials for self-government," newspaper reporters, "personnel for such-and-such a society, and such-and-such an association," and "students who study abroad—like *jinshi* and *jure* in this or that field." But the changes thus reflected mean little, he believes, without the proper attitudes:

One statement covers it all: they compete for a reputation and die for gain. If we don't urgently call for the patriot's integrity and gird ourselves with a rigorous incorruptibility and sense of shame, within a decade China will fall before the Westerners.²³

Along with keen observation and some frustration, these statements display the moral certainty that would become typical of Shifu. Liu Sifu had worked for the kind of changes he outlines here, and he had to feel positively about them. But he understood that genuine change concerns attitude and not merely style. Possibly he had already encountered Kropotkin's statement that when changes occur, privileged youth are first to enjoy their advantages; such changes mean nothing if these leaders of the new generation take pleasure in progress before everyone can benefit from them. Again Liu Sifu displays perceptions of society that would later be sharpened by the anarchist outlook.

At several points Liu expresses his concerns for the Chinese nation. Like most activists, he was a patriot, apprehensive over the possibility that the Westerners would take control. In his comments on relations between the Han majority and the Miao, he suggested that those with power should use it fairly, exactly as Chinese wished the Westerners would do. With Liu and others who were more clearly anarchist than he himself at this time, there is some evidence that antiimperialism gave anarchism some of its appeal. Liu Sifu's thinking would evolve from the basic patriotism expressed in these essays to a much broader view of social revolution. When his anarchist principles were fully developed by 1913-14, while still scornful of capitalists and imperialists, he described their ultimate defeat rather in terms of an international success for ordinary people than as victory for weak nations against the strong.

In issues involving language, Liu stood solidly for long-established values and attitudes. There was a close relationship between Liu's absorption in Han School techniques and his essential conservatism in issues related to language and literature. Liu Sifu entered into a discussion that Liu Shipei and other national essence publicists had initiated concerning the possibility that the study of China's ancient past could generate a renaissance (*zhongxing*), much like the European Renaissance, which would revive China's culture and rebuild her strength. Liu liked the idea of a renaissance but questioned whether it could

achieve such objectives if it were limited to a deep study of China.²⁴ He acknowledged that a revival of interest in ancient literature had launched the Renaissance in Italy and recognized that a similar line of development might occur in China. But he noted that, in Europe, Classical studies had been augmented by other disciplines such as history, geography, and sociology. It is interesting that while national essence thinkers in reviving Han School methods could regard the Renaissance as a paradigm, Benjamin Elman has seen the beginnings of an equivalent to the Renaissance in the work of the eighteenth-century Chinese scholars whom the national essence group emulated.²⁵

Liu Sifu was convinced that the language was deteriorating; he lamented this trend. For example, he observed, "Today people like to imitate Japan's new terminology." He noted that the term *jie* was being attached as a suffix to create such expressions as "scholarly circles," and "political circles." He was particularly upset that the Buddhist term *sejie* (realm of feeling) was being used for the sensual appeal women hold for men. He explained the background for its proper, Buddhist meaning, and then made his point: "In the new studies our young scholars are just reading a few books; they only put together dozens of these neologisms, and celebrate this as learning... Ah, all around us the literary arts [*wenxue*] are declining, as you can see from this."²⁶ Such clucking about the deterioration of the language seems appropriate for Zhang Taiyan, but not for a young man who had himself engaged in "new studies." This imperiousness about language would be displayed later, again in Shifu's debates on the nature of socialism.

On the closely related subject of literature, Liu Sifu was also strident in his defense of long-standing principles. Concerning the nature of literature, he stated that three elements are basic: moral comment (*xungu xue*), logic (*lunli xue*), and style (*zishi xue*).²⁷ He was disturbed by the failure of writers in recent times to devote due attention to these skills; they no longer cared for philology (*xiaoxue*), and their knowledge of words was deteriorating. Soon he revealed the target of his criticism—Liang Qichao. Much of the debased literature, Liu noted, was offered "in the name of literary revolution [*wenxue geming*]." Literature could change to meet the times, he allowed, but the three essential features he had described should never change.²⁸ In another comment, he observed that some of the new fiction discussed society in general and thus had value. Much of it, however, dealt with the lower levels of society or with women and only appealed to readers' prurient interests.²⁹ Thus, although Liu acknowledged that changing times would produce changes in literature, he was not prepared to recognize that a new popular fiction might have a great impact in a society in the throes of radical change.³⁰ Especially in his views on literature, Liu displays an insistence on directness in analyzing China's problems and attempting to solve them. To attempt to use literature for those purposes would be to manipulate both literature and people's minds. While these views reflect a lack of imagination regarding means by which Chinese culture might be

transformed, his emphasis on morality at least explains why he could not consider using literature to manipulate people's consciousness.

Liu's numerous statements on morality show his emphasis on its great importance.

As to the present government, scholarship, and religion, I advocate destroying them all. Only on the issue of morality do I prefer the old to the new, holding fast instead of letting go. With an old-fashioned, reverent morality and clear knowledge, surely we can make everything good for the people. Confucius scolded Ru and Ni [two hermits], and Mencius rejected Chen Zhong [for choosing a simple life over service to the state]. Today those in the constitutionalist party, struggling shamelessly for position and surface gains, all have been brought up in the arts of the Confucianists.¹¹

Sifu's reference to "destruction" links him with Lin Xic and the "nihilists" of several years earlier. Destroy all those old things, he says, except the high level of morality displayed by all who in earlier times truly sought the general good. He excoriates all Confucianists; in seeking positions for service to the state, they have lost the way. Liu Sifu seeks to distinguish between an ethos of simple service and genuine moral leadership and the time-worn attitudes of official morality.

Liu then voices a widely held conservative view, one that also reveals a broad assumption about the nature of progress:

Morality and knowledge are not the same sort of thing. The more knowledge develops, the more likely it is that morality will decline. Europe and America have experienced this situation during the past century, and now over the past twenty years China has experienced it too. Europe and America have law, so the situation was out of control only for a time. China does not have law, so the calamity will be truly unbearable.¹²

Sifu here reverses the terms of the statement quoted just above, but his point is the same. While he seems here to favor law, perhaps he was most concerned to keep some source of stability in case morality failed to keep up with knowledge. At this point he does not express the optimistic view shared by many, from Liang Qichao to Sun Zhongshan and most importantly, other anarchists, that China could avoid the dislocations that shook the Western countries during their transition to industry.

In addressing the question of morality directly, Liu referred to Zhang Taiyan's essay "The Morality of Revolution" from 1906.¹³ Zhang had described four components of morality: a sense of shame, liberality, resoluteness, and trustworthiness. Sifu accepted these as important qualities, but added two more of his own. These were "accomplishment through striving" (*ku xing*) and "respect for incorruptibility" (*gui lian*). He called these six the individual strands of morality; they should be bound together by another quality, "the

incomparable concept of daring to die" (*du yi wu er zhi gansi zhuyi*). The first six were the woof (*wei*), and "daring to die" was the warp (*jing*) of morality. Many in the revolutionary movement had been moved by the dare-to-die ideal exemplified first by Russian populists, and more recently by Wu Yue and Qiu Jin. Liu himself had dared to die in the plot that resulted in his imprisonment. Here he connected the dare-to-die ideal to Buddhism, observing that followers of Buddhism exemplified this spirit, and that it enabled them to succeed in great undertakings without help from others.³⁴

Of course it was characteristic of national essence thinking to use whatever elements of Chinese tradition might help to strengthen the country and its people. However, Buddhism held special appeal for Liu Sifu, which he discusses at some length in one of his essays. He begins by responding to the "nearsighted Confucianists" for criticizing what they saw as pessimistic teachings in Buddhism and thus rejecting Buddhism as being valuable in saving China.

But they do not know about the ability of Buddhism to break with frivolous desire, to regard life and death as the same, to guard against idle talk, or its will to cross to the other side. No one who talks about saving the nation can take its meaning lightly. Today people only talk about saving the nation, but really give themselves to reputation and profit and scorn morality; indeed it is no wonder that they see the teachings of the Buddha as a dangerous road.³⁵

Sifu then notes the difference between the Buddha, who stayed in the world of feeling in order to save others, and retired Confucian scholars, who tire of the world of feeling but show their enjoyment of the world of things because they take pleasure in the mountains and forests. The best attitude is the true attitude of the Buddha, which was that life and death were the same to him. Thus, he said, he was always ready to leave this life or to stay in it, depending on what was needed—exactly the outlook needed in one who would save the nation.

Buddhism in Liu's Evolving Values

Buddhism's role in the thinking of late-Qing activists has been discussed in a number of recent studies.³⁶ The importance of Buddhism in this respect was long overlooked because, as a traditional religion in China, Buddhism would not seem to have much appeal to people who wished to be "modern." From a different point of view, however, it is not surprising that thoughtful Chinese would have looked to their own cultural heritage as they sought to adapt to that which was modern and foreign. Such individuals knew that Buddhism was a great world religion, so profound in its appeal that it could re-energize Chinese civilization during a period of decline and play a major role in shaping the neighboring civilizations of Asia. At a time when they were seeking new

universals, Chinese intellectuals looked to an earlier carrier of values universally relevant to Asians.

Although we have recognized the importance of Buddhism, not many of the attempts to explain it are very satisfying.¹⁷ The nature of religious experience in itself makes it difficult to explain. Genuine religious experience contains elements of mystery, yet is simple and direct, and these inner experiences guide the believer's behavior. While Liu Sifu's mind was engaged with the insights offered in Buddhism, these insights also fed his impulse to act. For him, knowledge and action were one. Thus, Buddhism also provided him strength to make sacrifices that would advance the truth among his fellow Chinese. Liu was 'a doer'; his commitment to act on his beliefs linked the anti-Manchu and anarchist periods of his career as a revolutionary. Belief as the wellspring of action was always essential for him.

The role of religion as a source for transformative values in the early modern West has long been appreciated. Robert Bellah was first to draw the parallel between the "Protestant ethic" in the West and a transformed traditional religion as an equivalent in an East Asian society, Tokugawa Japan.¹⁸ In the twilight years of Qing, many intellectuals including Liu Sifu sought to make of Buddhism a set of principles that could enable China to deal with the range of overwhelming problems she faced in the modern world. Such modifications to traditional systems of belief almost never develop in a leisurely or comfortably reasoned-out way because they occur in times of great change. In early twentieth-century China, however, we may suppose that the sense of urgency was greater than in sixteenth-century Europe, and also that Chinese intellectuals first saw the problems and then sought to match solutions to them. Still, they looked to their own tradition, that part of it which they did not think was discredited. This is a likely response for any self-respecting people, and despite the frustrations their nation had encountered, and in this way especially, Chinese intellectuals retained their self-respect.

That Liu's was a Buddhism in the process of being secularized is also suggested by his choices of heroes, individuals whom he regarded as worthy of emulating. Among earlier scholars, he had great respect for the dissidents Gu Yanwu (1613-82) and Yan Yuan (1635-1704). Both had criticized the imperial system and refused to serve the Manchu government. Scholarship became their means of resistance; through their philological studies they sent many encoded messages to Han loyalists. They had overcome the Confucian penchant for getting coopted into the power structure. Among followers of Buddhism, Liu chose carefully those whom he would respect. He regarded several important movements and their leaders, such as the Song Idealists, the "Wild Chan" school and Wang Yangming from Ming times, and even such recent figures as Tan Sitong, as opportunists or even perverters of Buddhism. The Buddhists whom Sifu most admired were patriot-monks who had put their lives on the line, dared to die, in defending China. He reminded his readers of Yuezong, a monk of the

Shaolin monastery in late Ming times, who had led and died with a force of 3,000 in fighting the Japanese at Songjiang (near present-day Shanghai). Another monk, Zhenbao of the Wutai monastery during Song times, had followed the emperor's command to resist the Jin; he too had died in this heroic effort. Liu cited the stories of these monks to show that China had known Buddhist monks equally as devoted as the Japanese monk Gessho, a supporter of the anti-bakufu forces during the last years of the Tokugawa period, who had committed suicide rather than yield to the government.¹⁹ Liu admired both groups, scholars and monks, for their strength of purpose and their activism. For him, Buddhism was a spiritual resource of great importance, and while he claimed to value it for itself, his Buddhism clearly was a vehicle for action to save the nation and transform the society.

In attempting to understand what Buddhism meant to Liu Sifu as of 1908-9, it is necessary to consider several aspects that together comprised the religion's powerful appeal. The basic appeal combined intellect and emotion. In both respects Buddhism offered an alternative to Confucianism, the failure of which seemed systemic in its dimensions and total in extent. Buddhism offered a different worldview with its own sense of compassion; patriots who aspired to build a new China need not be limited to the discredited Confucian outlook. These modern enthusiasts who sought new choices from Chinese tradition could overlook Buddhism's foreign origins and its sometime status as an official religion. Liu Sifu also made selective use of the history of Buddhism. The models he presented were not teachers noted for their piety or devotion; they were "worldly monks" whom he admired for their activism. Another point he conveniently set aside in describing his heroes is that they responded to their emperors' requests in trying to defend China! The similarity of these Buddhist heroes to those whom Liu admired from the Confucianist tradition is striking. The object in Liu's view of Buddhism was to put together a group of principles that would inspire heroism in his own time, in the crisis facing China. The appeal of Buddhism was emotional, intellectual, and even intuitive—despite Liu's criticism of "Wild Chan." This broad appeal was epitomized in the powerful model of the bodhisattva figure whom Tan Sitong and Wu Yue had emulated, and whom Liu Sifu also followed.

Conclusion

In these prison essays Liu appears as an individualistic interpreter of revolutionary themes influenced by national essence thinking. His call for basic change in society, with female equality as the focus, remains from earlier years. So too does his opposition to the imperial system; but as the essays tell us, for Liu it is the system itself, not the Manchus, that presents the problem. This view, which is unusual at this time, seems an influence of his national essence

thinking; he links the failures of official Confucianism to the general failure of the system.

To a high degree, Liu reflects the concerns and impulses of national essence thinking. He does not wish to restore the past, to turn back the clock; what he would most like to do is to wipe out more than two millennia of Confucian misappropriation of China's cultural property and its association with the imperial system. From the past he also wants true patriots who care more for the whole of society than for their own interests and who will keep consistency between word and deed. Like most other advocates of the national essence view, he wishes to make use of the past. More than some of those, he seeks change that will bring about conditions that are genuinely *new*. However, his national essence attitudes strongly influence his ideas about the new conditions he desires. At this time he makes no sweeping endorsement of that which is new. He is suspicious of those who desire what is new just because it is new. He is certain that the language has deteriorated and insists that it must deteriorate no further; he discourages experimentation in the development of a new literature that might help to transform society. While his opposition to Confucianism marks him as an early advocate of cultural revolution in the broadest sense, Liu's concerns at this point are focused on the social and the moral, and not on such cultural expressions as literature. This view would persist in the outlook of Shifu and of other anarchists as well.⁴⁰

These essays reflect a surprising level of devotion to tradition in one also seeking to make revolution, and especially in one who within a few years would become an anarchist. As emphatically as any other individual, Liu confirms that a cultural conservative can be a revolutionary. And again, the jewel that Liu Sifu recovers from Chinese tradition is "the incomparable concept of daring to die." This is his key to revolution. It had moved him to undertake an assassination mission in 1907, and he would return to that activity following his release from jail. This great principle would become the source of his inexhaustible energy after he became convinced that anarchism offered the ideal basis for the new society.

We may conclude for now with two further points, one relating to the impact of the tradition on Sifu, and one concerned with his commitment to anarchism, still a while away in his future. First, for all his criticism of Confucianism and devotion to the model of the bodhisattva, Liu's great sense of moral burden was grounded in the Confucian imperative to serve. Second, the prison essays suggest what was not available from China's tradition that Liu would find in anarchism. Within three years he would become convinced that anarchism offered an ideal set of principles on which to build a new China and a new world.

Chapter 5

Return to Assassination

Following his release from prison in summer 1909, Liu Sifu went to Hong Kong, where he was welcomed by his Tongmenghui comrades.¹ His return to freedom gave Liu opportunity to study anarchism more deeply, largely through reading *New Century*. Other activities during 1910-12 suggest Liu's progress toward his commitment to anarchism; these are discussed at the beginning of Chapter 7. The main focus here is Liu's return to assassination work as his chosen form of activity on behalf of the anti-Manchu revolution. Liu took the lead in organizing the China Assassination Corps (*Zhina ansha tuan*) in early 1910; although launched in Hong Kong, this corps set out to organize assassination attacks in neighboring Guangdong province.²

As noted in chapter 3, Liu's career makes the issue of assassination as a tactic in China's revolutionary movement relevant to this study. Liu's assassination corps was typical of efforts to use this tactic during 1910-12. The best-known plot of this period was that of Wang Jingwei, which like Wu Yue's attempt of 1905 became a celebrated failure. Other groups, including the one that Liu Sifu organized, carried out successful attacks. Both perspicacity and the desperate need for effective action made this group style the choice of organizers during this period.

Assassination deserves more attention than it has received from historians simply because of the amount of effort that was devoted to it, during 1910-12 as well as 1903-7. Did its use advance the goals intended? Wang Jingwei failed to remove the regent Zaifeng, yet his attempt achieved some of the goals he had set for his mission: it inspired others in the revolutionary movement to renewed effort, and it served notice that the revolutionary movement had not dispersed completely. Further, as shown below, successful assassination attacks

in Guangzhou in November 1911 and in Beijing in February 1912 contributed directly to specific achievements by the revolutionaries.

To ask about the effect of assassination activity is also to suggest a much larger question: What difference did the entire revolutionary movement make? Marxist historiography in China and, under its influence, recent generations of Western historians of China, have emphasized that the Revolution of 1911 was caused by any number of social and economic factors more than by the anti-Manchu movement. Especially in the West this interpretation of the Revolution of 1911 has provided a valuable corrective to the Guomindang-fostered evaluation of the revolution, that it was mainly the work of the Tongmenghui led by Sun Zhongshan. However, to consider the effect of assassination and other forms of organized effort during 1910-11 is a reminder of the actuality that there was a revolutionary movement that would not go away. Despite its failures, this movement accomplished the essential task of bringing China's imperial form of government to its end. Those inclined to be pessimistic about what China has become after a century of revolution might conclude with Liang Qichao that gradual transition under a constitutional monarchy would have served the nation better. But this revolution happened, and it was made by people as well as by objective social factors.

The role of assassination in this larger issue of evaluating the Revolution has received little attention from scholars in China. Their general assessment is that those who undertook assassination, as bourgeois intellectuals, lacked the consciousness to build a movement that would enlist workers and peasants, and lacked the will to carry out the long-term task of developing this kind of movement. Impatient for results, these writers suggest, the revolutionaries went off half-cocked—figuratively, as some of the would-be assassins actually had done in the futile plots of the period 1903-7.³ Still, the assassins believed their exemplary actions would do precisely what these writers blame them for failing to do: they would strengthen the revolutionary movement by gaining popular sympathy and by attracting new volunteers.

Emergence of the Group Style in Assassination, 1910-11

In autumn 1909 Wang Jingwei organized an assassination corps in Hong Kong. He wrote two essays, "Tendencies in the Revolution" and "Resolve in the Revolution," as part of a campaign to revive enthusiasm for revolution and willingness to sacrifice for it. This campaign lasted several months and culminated in Wang's return to Tokyo in early 1910 to publish his ideas in two unsanctioned issues of *Min bao*.⁴ Wang had become convinced that, as large-scale uprisings had produced a succession of disheartening failures, only heroic efforts by dedicated individuals could rally the revolutionary movement. He compared revolution to preparing a meal: Some must serve as cooking-pots, he

proclaimed, and some must serve as fuel. Revolutionaries must use their bodies as fuel, as he intimated was his own intention, and then the four hundred million people of China could enjoy a feast together.

Wang's plan did not have the support of Sun Zhongshan or Huang Xing, not because the two leaders necessarily opposed assassination as a tactic, but because they valued Wang highly and were reluctant to see him engage in an effort that could easily be fatal. Wang wrote to Sun in January 1910 to say that he planned to continue his preparations. He also had written a general letter to Tongmenghui members in Southeast Asia, expressing his hope that others would follow his example.⁵

Wang's assassination corps had at least four other members, two of whom are especially worthy of mention. The only other member who was later arrested was Huang Fusheng, who served as the group's explosives expert. A Sichuanese, Huang like Liu Sifu and others had studied explosives with Liang Muguang in Yokohama, and he had been injured in an accidental explosion.⁶ Chen Bijun, also a participant, had by this time become Wang's fiancee. The daughter of a wealthy Singapore businessman, Chen first met Wang in 1907 on one of his visits to the city to build support for the Tongmenghui.⁷ Wang Jingwei's masculine appeal is part of Tongmenghui folklore; like many other young women, Chen was attracted to Wang, but she acted on this attraction and followed him. They were married in 1912. This relationship as comrades and lovers resembled that of Liu Sifu's relationship with Ding Xiangtian; however, Wang and Chen's relationship thrived over many years.

Huang Fusheng went to Beijing before the end of 1909 to begin reconnoitering for the group's mission. The other members arrived by early February. The group set up a photography shop in the Qianmen (Front Gate) area just outside the Imperial City and began planning the details of their mission. They targeted Zaifeng, the Manchu regent, as head of the system they sought to bring to an end. They decided to plant a bomb beneath a bridge near Zaifeng's quarters, which he had to cross almost every time he went out. The bomb would be set off by an electrical charge. Huang Fusheng and an assistant were to prepare the explosives, and Wang's task was to rig the electrical detonator. Because of several small problems, Huang had to work three nights at placing the bomb properly. On the third night he and his accomplice heard voices on the bridge, shouting that there was someone below. (Only later did they learn that the voices were those of a policeman and a man, searching for the latter's wife, who had not been home for several days.)⁸ Although the two plotters escaped undetected, the policeman discovered the bomb in searching beneath the bridge. It was traced to the group at the photography shop, and on March 7 Wang and Huang were arrested.

As his hearing approached, Wang Jingwei decided to make a straightforward testimony before Zaifeng, believing that his statement would be published and would arouse public support for the revolutionary movement.⁹ Wang repeated the major theme of his *Min bao* articles, that the government's proposed constitution would be futile, nothing more than a device for perpetuating Manchu authority. At the hearing Wang found another way to express his idealism: he had sewn copies of his *Min bao* articles into his clothing, and when asked why, he replied, "These articles were written in ink; I wanted to translate them into blood."¹⁰

Ordinarily the death penalty would have been ordered for such a threat to the court. In a show of leniency toward its enemies, Zaifeng decided on life imprisonment for Wang and Huang.¹¹ The regent did not allow publication of Wang's testimony; however, newspaper accounts of the story were enough to make Wang a national hero and to achieve the publicity he sought.¹² Wang Jingwei remained in prison until November 1911, but a few months after that time was to have a direct role in Liu Sifu's decisions about a last assassination attempt, on Yuan Shikai, in early 1912.

Liu and the China Assassination Corps

In organizing their own corps, Liu Sifu and his associates intended to continue Wang Jingwei's mission. Liu took the lead in establishing this group.¹³ Others involved from the start were long-term comrades of Liu, most of whom will be found as members of his organizations at least through 1913. Xie Yingbo, Zhu Shutang, and Chen Zijue were longtime friends; Ding Xiangtian was part of this, as she was of all Sifu's other projects. Through Tongmenghui and personal contacts the corps quickly doubled in size. Chen Jiongming, later to be known as the "anarchist warlord" of Guangdong, here worked directly with Liu for the first time. Gao Jianfu, Li Xibin (author of the accounts already cited), and Cheng Ke, from Henan, also joined in this first group of new members.

Regulations drawn up at the beginning reflected the corps' concern with both security and effective operations. Candidates were subjected to a month's trial period before being initiated as formal members. Details of assassination plans were given only to members who would actually participate in an attack. Participants were divided into executing personnel and assisting personnel. This division of effort was intended to allow for members to sacrifice their lives only when they themselves were ready to do so. One account mentions the use of passwords and handsigns, which is reminiscent of secret societies or of Russian assassination corps whom Liu and his comrades probably meant to emulate.¹⁴ While such ritualistic behavior could have contributed to the desired level of security and also strengthened the group's morale, it also appears unnecessarily conspiratorial.

Local sources provided virtually all the corps' financial support. Liu Sifu had received a donation of 100 yuan from a student who had just returned from Japan, which he used to rent quarters for the corps. Chen Jiongming provided another sum of money, but soon the group's financial affairs were turned over to Li Xibin. The son of a wealthy merchant in Guangzhou, Li sold some of his family's properties to provide for the group's expenses. By his own estimate he contributed more than 10,000 yuan; it followed that he should be in charge of finances.¹⁵

Besides the office that Liu rented in Hong Kong, which was moved after a few months, the corps set up another point of operations on the Kowloon side. Li Xibin made this site his residence and also a center for assassination activity.¹⁶ Soon after the Huanghuagang uprising, the corps was stockpiling materials and experimenting with bombs. The site was secluded, and also located near a rock quarry, so the group could test their bombs without attracting attention. These tests were occasions for gatherings by the group's members, who watched the explosions in a spirit of high adventure. When satisfied with the quality of their devices, they began planning an attack on a Manchu official.¹⁷

By this time it was August 1910. The group agreed that their first mission should be to go to Beijing and undertake an attack on Zaifeng. Liu Sifu, Ding Xiangtian, Li Xibin, Zhu Shutang, Cheng Ke, and Lin Guanci (a new member), volunteered for this mission.¹⁸ As he was a northerner, Cheng Ke was sent ahead in October to begin preparations for this project. When several months passed without word from him, apprehension turned to suspicion. Only much later, after establishment of the Republican government, did they learn that Cheng had become a prominent official in Jehol under Yuan Shikai.¹⁹ This initial failure set the corps' efforts back by almost a year and was an important factor in returning their attention to the local situation in Guangzhou.

More important, however, were events in Guangzhou in April 1911. The Tongmenghui planned another military action in Guangzhou; led by Huang Xing, this action ended in tragic failure, producing the "seventy two martyrs of Huanghuagang."²⁰ Many factors contributed to this failure. One was the attack on the Manchu general Fuqi by a lone assassin named Wen Shengcai.²¹ A solitary figure indeed, Wen had left his home in Mei xian and spent most of his adult life as a laborer in Southeast Asia. He had joined the Tongmenghui through the influence of a fellow worker who belonged to the organization. Wen became so discouraged by news from China that he returned to Hong Kong from Singapore determined to carry out an assassination mission. He too had heard of Li Zhun's forceful resistance against the revolutionaries and hoped to attack Li. An aircraft demonstration at Guangzhou brought provincial officials together and gave Wen the opportunity he sought. Unable to obtain explosives, he armed himself with a pistol. He had hoped to make his attack as the crowd gathered, but was unable to do so, and he retired in dejection to a teahouse near the improvised

airfield.²¹ He got a second chance in the afternoon when a train of sedan-chairs bearing officials passed. Firing his pistol repeatedly at one of them, Wen hit Fuqi several times and killed him on the spot. After being apprehended, Wen was interrogated for a week and beheaded on March 17; he was forty-two years old. He was the only solitary assassin who made a successful attack in this decade of activity by revolutionaries.

Wen's attack contributed to the failure of Huang Xing's military action a few weeks later.²² At the least, increased government security hampered the revolutionaries' communications and logistics. Then on the eve of the action, indecision among Huang and various elements among the revolutionary force kept this force from converging in Guangzhou at full strength. Huang first postponed the attack, but then after protests from some of his volunteers decided again to proceed. He himself had solicited funds from a number of supporters among the Overseas Chinese community in Southeast Asia. He did not want to break faith with them, and he saw no other opportunity in the near future, and so he reversed himself at the eleventh hour. The result of this indecision was that about half of the dare-to-die corps (*gansi dui*) that Huang had assembled from the Tongmenghui membership in the area did not depart Hong Kong for Guangzhou in time to participate. Then after the action began, one group of revolutionaries engaged a unit of the government's reserve forces who intended to assist the uprising but had not worn the white armbands by which the revolutionaries identified themselves because they did not want to show themselves prematurely. Such confusion and indecision led to disaster. Huang and many other of the revolutionaries managed to escape.

The tragic failure of the April revolt left the Guangzhou revolutionaries grief-stricken; Huang Xing felt personally responsible for the loss of so many Tongmenghui members after his decision to go ahead with the plan despite the obvious problems. While these sacrifices moved activists elsewhere, Huang himself now decided to engage in assassination work.²³ Previously dubious about the use of assassination, Huang had done no more than cooperate with others, such as Liu Sifu, who wished to undertake it. After the April uprising however, Huang organized the Assassination Corps of the East (*Dongfang ansha tuan*), which included Xu Zonghan, Li Yingsheng and his brother Li Peiji, and Zhou Zhizhen.²⁴ Huang was prepared to undertake a mission himself.²⁵ Although Sun Zhongshan was deeply disturbed by this decision, at Huang's request he supplied some 15,000 yuan to support assassination projects and to prepare the attack on Fengshan described later in this chapter.²⁶

The members of Liu Sifu's China Assassination Corps also resolved to follow up on the sacrifices of the Huanghuagang rising. Some of them had participated in the April action, the result of which reinforced their views on the advantages of assassination as a tactic. The China Assassination Corps members now agreed that they should undertake missions in Guangzhou. A few days after the Canton uprising, the corps members held a meeting at which they decided

to attack the revolutionaries' long term opponents, Governor-General Zhang Mingqi and naval commandant Li Zhun. Lin Guanci volunteered to be the executing member for this first mission. After some further discussion, Li Xibin, Zhu Shutang, and Gao Jianfu agreed to assist Lin. Thus, only Liu Sifu and Ding Xiangtian of the group who had originally planned to go to Beijing for the attack on Zaiseng were left without an assignment in this new plan. Liu regarded the attack on Zaiseng as his special task and was unwilling to consider another.

Others in the corps began preparations for the planned mission. The details of these preparations, by turns both humorous and ironic, suggest the balance between Manchu authority and popular support for the revolutionaries in Guangzhou. Various means were used to transport explosives from Hong Kong to Guangzhou. Zhou Mingren, a medical student who had assisted Liu Sifu following the accidental explosion of May 1907, helped to deliver a load of materials on the night ferry between the two cities.²⁷ Another volunteer carried explosives in an old piano that he shipped to Guangzhou on the ferry.²⁸ A machinist named He Baohong, who had recently joined the Tongmenghui, made castings for bombshells at a shop he operated in the Guangzhou suburbs south of the Pearl River.²⁹ As the participants began preparing for the attack, Li Xibin was hospitalized because of headaches caused by his work with explosives. Upon entering the Sino-French Hospital (where Liu Sifu had been taken in May 1907), Li discovered that one of Li Zhun's military advisors, injured in the fighting at Huanghuagang, was recuperating in a nearby room. As Li Zhun visited the hospital with some regularity, Li Xibin began to hope that the attack might be made near the hospital. Although the aide checked out of the hospital before preparations were complete, Li Xibin assembled bombs while still in the hospital, assisted by a doctor and two interns who had been brought into the plot. Working at night in the doctor's office, these four made the bombs later used to attack Li Zhun.³⁰

By early August the corps members had completed their preparations.³¹ Still undecided about whom to attack, the plotters learned that Zhang Mingqi would be moving about the city on August 9, and the four executing members took up positions along Zhang's probable route. At one point Lin Guanci stood less than fifty yards away from Zhang's sedan-chair, but held back because he did not think he could attack successfully. Two days later the group went out to stalk Li Zhun, but none forced an attack. Probably the failure of the Huanghuagang action the previous April loomed as the strongest cautionary factor. These assassins present a marked contrast with those of the earlier years, who seemed to regard suicide as much a success as removal of an enemy.

Another opportunity came on August 13. Lin Guanci and his three comrades again stationed themselves at points along Li Zhun's rounds. Lin disguised himself as a peddler, carrying two bombs in a basket normally used to carry quantities of tea. He waited for Li in the area known as Double-Gate

(*Shuangmendi*), and when Li's entourage passed close by, he tossed his first bomb at the admiral's sedan-chair. It exploded slightly ahead of the chair, injuring Li and killing or injuring most of his footmen. Guards opened fire on Lin, who still was able to deliver a second bomb. Lin was killed on the spot, either from rifle fire or from the shrapnel of a bomb. He had achieved limited success; Li Zhun received two broken ribs and was incapacitated for several weeks.³²

Liu Sifu played little part in this attack on Li Zhun. After the affair was finished, however, Liu took it upon himself to prepare a memorial brochure on Lin Guanci, which included biographical information and a photograph of Lin's death in the attack. A photographer whose shop was nearby had managed to take a picture of the action, and Liu arranged to obtain it. Liu distributed copies of the brochure to all the corps members.³³

The Assassination of Fengshan and Political Transition in Guangzhou and Guangdong

The next action by the China Assassination Corps did not occur until after the Wuchang uprising of October 10. The spontaneous outbreak of the Wuchang uprising surprised the revolutionaries in Guangdong as elsewhere. Although actions also occurred in several other provinces, the Tongmenghui organization in Guangzhou was not quick to respond to the Wuchang uprising. In fact, despite the modest success in the attack on Li Zhun, they still had not regrouped after the Huanghuagang episode. Further, Huang Xing had gone to Wuchang to assume command of the revolutionary forces there, so that the Guangzhou organization was without a major leader until Hu Hanmin reached Hong Kong from Saigon at the end of October.³⁴ These factors help to explain the lack of action by the Tongmenghui's Guangzhou-Hong Kong branch organization.

Influential groups in Guangzhou and its hinterlands had mixed reactions to the events in central China. Governor-General Zhang Mingqi sought to steer a middle course between the government and revolutionary sides. Reformist in outlook, Zhang hoped to preserve the option to achieve worthwhile change while avoiding the dislocation of revolution. In this view Zhang agreed with the gentry of Guangzhou and the outlying areas of the province, who formed his major support.³⁵ Guangzhou's merchants on the other hand comprised the single strongest class grouping in support of revolution, as they could expect little improvement in status or influence under a gentry-dominated provincial government. So although the merchants would later become disillusioned by the revolutionary government's inability to maintain stability, they now sided with the revolutionaries.³⁶ Popular feeling in Guangzhou and throughout the province clearly favored revolution. The revolutionaries had generated broad popular support that was essential to removing Qing authority in the province.

Thus, in Guangdong as elsewhere the Tongmenghui's task was, as Edward Rhoads has put it, "to convert a revolutionary situation into a revolution."³⁷

Even before the Wuchang outburst the assassins had made plans to attack Fengshan, a capable military leader whom the court had dispatched to Guangzhou to command its forces in Guangdong. Understandably, Fengshan had been hesitant to proceed to this new assignment. Huang Xing had coordinated preparations for the attack from Hong Kong before leaving for Wuchang.³⁸ The China Assassination Corps and Huang Xing's Eastern Assassination Corps cooperated closely, together mobilizing some twenty people to carry out their plan. They rented a defunct store as the base for the operation. Li Yingsheng and Li Peiji were stationed there along with three others. As before, materials for making bombs were brought over from Hong Kong. Because the bomb used on Li Zhun had not been as effective as desired, the group made a larger one to attack Fengshan.³⁹ But a heavier bomb would be difficult to deliver by hand. Thus, the conspirators devised a simple chute formed of long boards, which rested horizontally between the windowsill and a chair; the bomb would be launched by pulling a rope attached to the chute and run over the rafters. With these preparations made, the group at the storefront awaited Fengshan's arrival in Guangzhou. Others who had volunteered as executing members were stationed elsewhere so that there would be several opportunities to complete the mission.

Still others monitored Fengshan's progress toward Guangzhou from Beijing, Shanghai, and Hong Kong. Liu Sifu's role in this mission was to provide up-to-the-minute intelligence from Hong Kong. The corps members anticipated that Fengshan would reach Guangzhou on October 25, and that he would enter the city in early morning to ensure maximum security. Liu Sifu ascertained that Fengshan's plan was exactly thus, and he telegraphed Zhu Shutang with this information on the night of October 24. As martial law had been in effect since the Wuchang uprising, Zhu decided to wait until early morning to carry this information to the Li brothers at the storefront. After Zhu roused the two that morning, the only difficulty in the operation occurred when Li Yingsheng became dizzy from the smell of chemicals. Li Peiji, the younger brother, quickly revived him and took over the duty of launching the bomb. Thus, this sixteen-year-old youth became the assassin who killed Fengshan.

At approximately eight o'clock the general and his retinue approached the storefront after disembarking at Guangzhou. As Fengshan passed, Li Peiji pulled the rope on the chute, and the bomb hurtled to the street below. Fengshan and some twenty in his train were killed immediately, and seven or eight buildings, including the assassins' storefront, were toppled in the explosion.⁴⁰ The Li brothers escaped out a back window, unharmed. In tactical terms, this was the most successful assassination mission of the entire revolutionary movement: the two corps had cooperated to achieve their objective, with the desired dramatic

effect and had not lost even one of their members. The tactical use of assassination had become greatly refined.

Although the assassination of Fengshan was dramatic, it did not immediately produce dramatic results. While Qing authority had been rendered questionable, Governor-General Zhang Mingqi still held the upper hand both politically and militarily. He sought to thwart revolution and work out a transfer of power to a reform-oriented provincial administration controlled by the gentry. Zhang had already called upon the gentry to hold a meeting on the afternoon of the twenty-fifth to seek suggestions for maintaining order in the city. The first provincial and municipal declarations of independence had been issued elsewhere, generating momentum for a nationwide revolution.⁴¹ So when the gentry held their meeting, the need for order was urgently clear. On the basic question, this meeting resolved in favor of provincial neutrality in the revolution.

Guangzhou remained tense during the next few days, torn by conflicting rumors that the city would be brought to chaos either by bandit forces allied with the revolutionaries or by government troops determined to hold it. The merchants met on October 29 and decided to declare their support for the revolution; they urged the gentry to adopt the same position. By day's end the two groups issued a joint declaration of independence, announcement of which brought on a spontaneous citywide celebration. However, Zhang Mingqi still held out, refusing to approve the declaration. With this reaction from Zhang, the revolutionaries stepped up their efforts to arouse expressions of support for independence throughout Guangdong. Hu Hanmin's arrival at Hong Kong provided leadership for these efforts. Members of the China Assassination Corps, including Liu Sifu, joined with other Tongmenghui members in organizing popular army (*min jun*) uprisings to broaden rebellion so that Zhang would be forced to yield. These "popular armies" were recruited from a variety of sources, such as lineage organizations, secret societies, and bandit groups.

Typical of these local operations was the one at Shiqi, the Xiangshan county seat. A number of factors contributed to create an explosive situation in this area. This was Sun Zhongshan's home, and many local men had joined the Tongmenghui. The support of families also broadened popular feeling in favor of revolution. More immediately, economic difficulties exacerbated the grievances of certain lineage groups in an area just west of Shiqi. These groups engaged in rice and silk production. They had enjoyed prosperity for several decades until about 1905. However, their markets had declined during the several years before 1911 because of the development of still newer trading routes; in particular, completion of the Guangzhou-Hong Kong railway had made it cheaper to bypass the Shiqi market in supplying rice to Guangzhou. These lineages were quickly recruited for the Shiqi uprising while many of their neighbors who followed other economic pursuits did not participate.⁴² Liu Sifu did not participate in the action in his home area, but some of his associates did. Among them were Chen Zijue and Zheng Bi'an (Zheng having returned from

Beijing), who also had been active in the China Assassination Corps.⁴³ Lin Junfu, Liu's lifelong friend, belonged to one of the aggrieved lineages, and with relatives who also belonged to the Tongmenghui, he convinced the family organization to vent their frustrations by joining in the uprising.⁴⁴ Mo Jipeng, who had not yet met Liu but later joined his anarchist group, also helped to organize this action.⁴⁵

The revolutionaries soon gained control of Shiqi and then of Qianshan, the village facing Macao, which borders on Xiangshan.⁴⁶ In this situation the revolutionaries added to their following by converting a contingent of the government's New Army in Guangdong. When the revolutionary forces began their advance toward Guangzhou a few days later, groups like this one remained active while the local elements such as those who captured Shiqi generally returned home. Other actions near Shiqi illustrate the involvement of bandit forces in the popular armies. In a settlement northwest of Shiqi and in neighboring Shunde xian, Lu Lanqing and two other bandit leaders dominated the local situations. A few days later these bandit forces also entered Guangzhou, in numbers approaching ten thousand.⁴⁷

On the opposite side of the Pearl River estuary the revolutionaries made use of similar local conditions to build military support. Aroused by the revolutionaries, people in several market centers organized to defend their towns against government troops proceeding toward Huizhou.⁴⁸ When revolutionary leaders prepared to move on to Guangzhou along the Guangzhou-Hong Kong rail line, these local forces did not accompany them. The popular armies who went on to Guangzhou included converted government troops and secret society groups. Liu Sifu and Gao Jianfu were active in the Tongmenghui effort to organize local forces here on the east side of the delta. They worked under a commander named Liu Zhaohuai in Xin'an. Liu Sifu served as a staff officer for the unit.⁴⁹ When the unit entered the city, Liu rode on horseback bearing the Republican flag, wearing a white glove over his artificial left hand.⁵⁰ Wherever he stood on his way to anarchism at this time, he regarded overthrow of the Qing government as the first priority in China's revolution.

The revolutionaries had indeed brought further pressure on Governor-General Zhang, and hoping to minimize bloodshed, they began negotiating with the authorities. Li Zhun had become convinced, and on November 7 he agreed to support the revolutionaries with his own forces if necessary to take Guangzhou. By the next day Zhang also decided that further resistance would be useless. Both Zhang and the revolutionaries feared foreign intervention; the British consul reportedly had threatened on November 6 to intervene because of "piracy" on the West River. Further, new provincial declarations of independence, from Yunnan, Shanxi, Guizhou, and Zhejiang by this time had added momentum for the revolutionaries. Thus, Zhang agreed to recognize a new government in which he would act as provisional governor and Long Jiguang as lieutenant-governor. But Zhang fled Guangzhou that same night, and following

the declaration on the morning of November 9, the provincial assembly elected Hu Hanmin to succeed him as governor.⁵¹ Li Zhun was named a top-level military commander in the new administration, but he fled Guangzhou within a week after some unforgiving members of the revolutionary armies ransacked his office.⁵² Long Jiguang would later become Yuan Shikai's representative in Guangzhou, and in late 1913 would see to the removal of Shifu, the anarchist, from Guangzhou.

Liu Sifu thus played a rather unremarkable role in the drive for provincial independence in Guangdong. His chief distinction during 1910-11 was to lead in organizing an assassination corps, the activity of which was delayed more than a year because of the abortive plan involving Cheng Ke. In the actions the corps undertook in 1911, Liu himself played only an accessory role. Following the assassination of Fengshan, Liu was among the Tongmenghui activists who organized popular forces to complete the drive for provincial independence. But as the revolutionary struggle continued into early 1912, Liu still sought an opportunity to make an assassination attack on a major figure in Beijing. He had committed himself to such a mission at least since early 1910, and he intended to carry it out.

Assassination and the Qing Abdication

As the struggle between revolutionaries and the Qing government continued, the court turned to Yuan Shikai, who by the beginning of November had been appointed premier and charged to restore the government's authority. On their side, revolutionaries were faced with the need to achieve unity out of many provincial movements and establish a single national government from provisional governments in some fifteen provinces. Along with recalcitrant members of the Manchu aristocracy at court, Yuan Shikai now stood as one of the major obstacles to a successful completion of the revolution. Months of military action and negotiations passed before Yuan was able to parlay his strengths into leadership of the new government.

The revolutionaries in Guangdong as elsewhere had to maintain the military forces they had gathered and also to seek other means of influencing the situation in their favor. Besides assisting in this broad effort, Liu Sifu and the other members of the China Assassination Corps pursued possibilities for using their special tactic further in the anti-Manchu struggle.⁵³ A message from Wang Jingwei, who had gone to Shanghai following his release from prison in early November, affirmed the group in their inclination to undertake a mission against the Manchu hardliners, preferably Zaifeng. They also regarded Yuan Shikai as a potential target.⁵⁴ As in their original plan, Liu and Ding Xiangtian volunteered as executing members; accompanied by Zheng Bi'an and Chen Zijue, in December they proceeded to Shanghai to prepare for such a mission.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Wang Jingwei himself had been active in the

north. Within two weeks after his release from prison in November, Wang had organized a Beijing-Tianjin branch of the Tongmenghui. Li Shizeng, recently returned from Paris, served as branch vice-chairman. This new branch included an assassination group, who had already begun to develop plans for attacking Manchu officials and Yuan Shikai.⁵⁶ All such plans remained tentative, however, because negotiations continued between Yuan and the revolutionaries. Wang Jingwei himself stood in the middle of a fluid situation: Sun Zhongshan had asked Wang to serve on his negotiating team at the same time Wang was also helping to plan a possible assassination attack on Yuan.⁵⁷

By the middle of January the Beijing-Tianjin branch's assassination group decided that it was time to move against Yuan. Wang, then in Shanghai with Sun's negotiating team, telegraphed his colleagues in Beijing to proceed. However, Wang did not know that Yuan had been granted an audience on the sixteenth with the more flexible members of the court to seek their agreement to abdicate. Although some in the plot knew of this development and feared that an attack on Yuan would reduce the court's suspicion of his motives, a majority voted to carry out the mission.

The plan called for an attack on Yuan as he left the palace grounds following his audience. Attackers stationed themselves in the upstairs rooms of two teahouses along Yuan's route. The first bomb disabled his horse-drawn carriage. A few moments later more bombs were thrown, but none harmed Yuan. Still other opportunities were missed when two women in the plot fired pistols at Yuan. The general confusion of the affair is indicated in that the authorities caught only three of the conspirators, despite the large number of people involved.⁵⁸

The court reacted as the more cautious members of the assassination group had feared: under the circumstances the attempt on Yuan was a mistake. But within ten days the court's feelings toward Yuan changed again, after the assassination of Liangbi, leader of the diehard Imperial Clan faction. Many at the time believed that Yuan engineered this plot.⁵⁹ One member of the assassination group, Peng Jiazen, volunteered to make a solo attack on Liangbi, and the other members agreed to this plan.⁶⁰ In organizational terms, this mission brought things full circle: a solo attack would be made with the support of a larger group.

Peng's conduct on the eve of his mission shows that the *zhishi* ideal of earlier years retained its appeal. Donning the high-ranking officer's uniform that he would wear to approach Liangbi, he remarked to his comrades, "Look, everybody! Am I not like a great hero of old?"⁶¹ Before retiring that night he wrote a farewell letter to his fellow-revolutionaries.⁶² Early the next morning, January 25, he rode to Liangbi's home, presented the calling card of one of Liangbi's associates, and asked to see the nobleman. When told that Liangbi was out, Peng decided to wait. Just as he was deciding to postpone his mission, Liangbi's carriage returned. As the nobleman stepped out, Peng approached

him, throwing his bomb. Peng was killed immediately, and Liangbi died a few hours later.⁶³ Peng's attack was an important factor in breaking the court's resistance.⁶⁴ The child emperor Puyi abdicated on February 12, and Sun Zhongshan, satisfied with Yuan Shikai's assurances of support for republicanism, yielded the presidency to Yuan the next day.

As shown by the episodes discussed here, during 1910-11 as in the period 1903-7 assassination activity played an important part in the revolutionaries' efforts to bring down the Qing government. Its effects were both psychological and practical, as Wang Jingwei and others had repeatedly asserted. The attack on Fengshan in Guangzhou was the first action in the city following the Wuchang uprising. It served notice that revolutionaries there would continue their struggle to end dynastic rule. The attacks made in Beijing during the period of flux in early 1912 had mixed effects, but the final mission against Liangbi helped to achieve the Manchus' abdication. To a far greater extent than is generally recognized, assassination served as an effective tactic for the revolutionaries of 1911.

How people react to assassination episodes reflects their attitude toward the established political and social order. In the current experience of Americans, assassination is used almost exclusively by those whom we refer to as "terrorists," people desperate to achieve goals remote from anything we readily identify with. However, it might be relatively easier for Americans today to sympathize with the Chinese revolutionaries described here, who appear as heroes struggling with a decrepit, unjust order. Certainly it is fair to suggest that in their use of assassination the revolutionaries introduced a form of violence in which many innocent bystanders might be victimized along with the tyrants who were their targets; and they could be seen as having legitimated a highly volatile feature of Chinese political culture during a time of difficult transition. On the other hand, the rationale for assassination drew on Chinese tradition, sought to minimize the sacrifice of life, and attempted to use the few advantages that revolutionaries held in their struggle against the government. After the beginning of the Republic, few assassinations were attempted by those who sought to challenge Yuan Shikai.⁶⁵ However, many assassinations occurred during the Republican period, when this form of political violence became a method for eliminating those who challenged or merely criticized power holders. The earliest instances of assassinations by those resisting change occurred during the months of struggle in late 1911 and early 1912, when local authorities eliminated leaders of popular revolution in some places.⁶⁶ The assassination of Song Jiaoren is the best-known instance of the early Republican years, but Yuan Shikai also arranged to remove others in the popular assembly and several socialists, as described in the next chapter. Another progressive leader, Liao Zhongkai, was removed by assassination in 1925, and a number of outspoken writers and workers suffered similar fates in the bloodthirsty political life of the 1920s and 1930s.

Perhaps the revolutionaries are indeed liable to the critique of present-day historians in China for lacking both the awareness of the need for a broad popular movement and the patience to build such a movement. Wang Jingwei and Liu Sifu favored assassination because of repeated frustration in attempts at larger-scale actions. In 1910-11, as in the earlier period 1903-7, those who advocated assassination believed that assassins would indeed attract greater numbers of people to the revolutionary movement. Thus, in their own thinking, in undertaking assassination missions they were addressing precisely the point raised by modern Chinese analysts. If they were impatient, it was rather because they feared that the opportunity for revolution would be lost if Qing reforms continued than because they failed to understand the need for a mass movement. Actually those who used assassination were among the first to call for the involvement of those from "lower-class society" (see chapter 3), and Liu Sifu's China Assassination Corps welcomed the involvement of machinists who helped to prepare bombs. Further, although Wen Shengcai acted independently in assassinating Fuqi in April 1911, he was a worker. This involvement of ordinary workers anticipated Liu's own interests, as an anarchist, in labor organization. Thus, assassination activity involved workers and brought a degree of cooperation between intellectuals and workers.

Liu Sifu in Early 1912, on the Verge of Anarchism

One of the themes of this study is that Liu Sifu was drawn to anarchism through his active involvement with assassination. Liu himself and others in commenting on his development note that he continued to study anarchism even as he worked with the China Assassination Corps. However, it is clear that—whatever he thought might follow—Liu regarded the overthrow of the Qing court and of the imperial system as the *sine qua non* for revolution. Considering where he would be ideologically within a few months, it seems surprising that Liu would have chosen to carry the Republican flag as his contingent of the Zhao Army rode into Guangzhou in early November 1911. Yet he had contributed much to the revolutionary effort, and he clearly shared in the euphoria of success.

He was prepared to contribute even more to that cause by undertaking an assassination mission against some major figure in Beijing. He had long regarded such an attack as his special task, and he believed he might yet undertake it. Thus, he went to Shanghai with Ding Xiangtian and other comrades as 1912 began. As his own plans depended on developments in the negotiations between the Sun and Yuan sides, Liu was trapped by circumstances. Then others attacked Yuan and Lianghi while Liu waited hundreds of miles away. After the transfer of power was arranged, Liu and his friends remained in the lower Yangzi area, at first simply traveling and enjoying the success of

the cause they had served. Then at Liu's suggestion this small group settled at a monastery beside West Lake in Hangzhou and began to plan how they would build an anarchist movement in Guangzhou. His perceptions about the new politics in China, such as Yuan Shikai's tactics to achieve power or the jockeying of lesser figures in Nanjing, moved Liu to break with all further attempts to achieve change through political organization. At this point he also rejected assassination and other forms of violent action as tactics for the social revolution he called for.⁶⁷

Liu lived three years after this time. In this spring of 1912 he would change his name, using only Shifu and dropping his family name. He would exhaust himself in this cause that he took up so zealously at West Lake. While Shifu is important for his creative application of the principles of anarchism in China, he is even more significant because of his commitment to propagating those principles by personal example. He would display boundless energy until his health began to fail in autumn 1914. Where did this energy come from? Its source lay in this activist's career and especially, I believe, in the long contemplation of death that was essential to his involvement with assassination. He had come near death himself in 1907, then had seen many others die in such actions. Finally, perhaps, after his own plans for a last great mission went unexecuted, he regretted his readiness to let others sacrifice themselves in plots he had orchestrated; surely this also contributed to his rejection of violence at this time. The guilt of a survivor can be a powerful motivating force.⁶⁸ His devotion to anarchism rested on a commitment to die slowly.

Chapter 6

Socialism Narrow and Broad: Shifu's Comrade-Rivals in the Early Republic

During those months early in 1912 when Liu Sifu made his transition to Shifu and set out to become China's prophet of anarchism, other activists had already organized and were seeking to propagate their own versions of socialism. In contrast to the Paris and Tokyo anarchists, these were the first groups to operate within China. They were active in the Jiangnan region where Shifu sojourned in spring 1912. Jiang Kanghu, a Jiangxi intellectual who had studied in both Japan and Europe, began organizing the Chinese Socialist Party (*Zhongguo Shehui Dang*) even as the Revolution of 1911 unfolded, and claimed to be the first socialist in China. Within a year the young "revolutionary monk" Taixu led a breakaway movement of those who preferred "narrow" (*xiayi*) socialism, by which they meant anarchism or principles very similar to anarchism, to Jiang's eclectic views or Sun Zhongshan's state socialism, which they called "broad" (*guangyi*) socialism. Taixu and his associates organized the Socialist Party (*Shehui Dang*) to bring together those who agreed with their more thorough socialism.

While Shifu developed his anarchist ideas independently, he was building his own movement in Guangzhou as these other two movements focused on the lower Yangzi area. The growing disagreements among socialist groups in the early Republic helped to convince Shifu of the need for clarity and consistency of principles, a point he would make repeatedly in his essays. The monk Taixu holds special interest, as he set out to combine anarchism and Buddhism, while Shifu would deny that Buddhism had entered into his doctrines. Thus, Taixu

serves here as the focus of my attempt to assess Buddhism as an ideological resource in this transitional period. Taken together, these movements are of great importance in the development of socialist ideas in China. Although the Revolution of 1911 would prove frustrating in political terms, it was a time of great hope for China's socialists. These movements are basic in a study of Shifu, for while he regarded Jiang Kanghu and Sun Zhongshan as rivals, he was also a colleague of Jiang and of Taixu. He shared their dreams of a modern socialist China, and with them, Shifu passed those dreams on to later generations.

On the Terminology of Early Chinese Socialism

The terms "broad" and "narrow" were essential to the vocabulary of socialism in the early Republican years. These and related terms were used to label the two basic divisions within socialism. For Shifu himself there was a great divide between socialism (*shehui zhuyi*) and "social policy/ies" (*shehui zhengce*); for him, anarchism was a form—the most perfected form—of socialism, but even a systematic state socialism was nothing more than social policy. Jiang Kanghu and Taixu, and their associates in the party groupings discussed in this chapter, also understood these terms in the same way.

While our concern here is with socialists, these terms were used by all who discussed socialism or applications of socialist principles in governing. Song Jiaoren, for example, used slightly different forms to indicate the same division, in his "Discussion of Socialism" in *Minli bao* in August 1911. In assaying the possibilities for the various forms of socialism in China, Song put anarchism and communism in the category of "genuine socialism" (*zhenzheng zhi shehui zhuyi*) and placed democratic socialism (*shehui minzhu zhuyi*) and national socialism (*guojia shehui zhuyi*) under the heading of social policy (*shehui zhengce*). Song favored the goals of socialism but feared that attempts to introduce it would backfire in a society without some wealth and an equitable system of distribution. Thus, he favored nothing more than social policy as government's effort to move in the desired direction without implementing either form of "genuine socialism."¹ Song's view was to be of some consequence; as described below, in organizing the Guomindang nearly a year after this article was published, he refused the overtures of both Sun Zhongshan and Jiang Kanghu to incorporate even their moderate socialism into the party's program.²

Thus, the distinction between the terms used for the various forms of socialism and for social policy was accepted by proponents of both. As the differences between Jiang Kanghu and the renegades in his party showed, strong disagreements also developed between socialists. For Taixu and his associates, as for Shifu, Jiang's socialism was nothing more than social policy, as was the socialism of Sun Zhongshan. As the differences grew between Jiang and those

who would form the Socialist Party, the two groups were identified as broad and narrow. For the latter, "pure" (*chuncui*) and "extreme" (*jiduan*) were alternatives commonly used.

Taixu and his allies also distinguished between anarchism, or free socialism, and state socialism by using the terms communism (*gongchan zhuyi*) and collectivism (*jianchan zhuyi*). The difference between these was put in terms of the socialist slogan that began, "From each according to his ability" (*ge jin suo neng*). Socialists divided over the wording of the second half of this statement. Anarchists and other proponents of communism believed that the slogan should conclude with the statement "to each according to his need" (*ge qu suo xu*). Thus, communism represented the economic expression of the anarchists' principles; production should be carried on by enterprises organized and managed through popular initiative according to principles Kropotkin had laid out. Most important, in their view, was that the state—the ultimate manifestation of authority—should be eliminated.

Collectivists believed the second half of the slogan should be, "to each according to his value [in work]" (*ge qu suo zhi*). This version of socialism would leave more assets, goods, and wages, in private hands, and place the state in control of the productive system. Collectivism meant state socialism; it represented a full and consistent development of social policy. In the narrow socialists' view, there was little difference between social policy and state socialism except the question of degree. Both Jiang Kanghu and Sun Zhongshan thus were seriously mistaken, in the narrow socialists' opinion.

The existence and development of these two major divisions of European socialism became a major point with all who espoused anarchism. They traced collectivism to Marx, who represented at least basic error and at most a perversion of socialism. Bakunin had stood against Marx in favor of communism at the breakup of the International in 1871 and before, and Kropotkin had continued to develop the principles of communism.³ Shifu would hammer away on these points. For our present interests, it was over these issues that Taixu and his allies debated and then broke with Jiang Kanghu in late 1912.⁴

Jiang Kanghu and the Chinese Socialist Party

Born in 1883 in northeastern Jiangxi, Jiang was about a year older than Liu Sifu. Jiang's immediate forebears had been more successful in the Qing bureaucracy than Liu's; their service in Beijing provided important contacts for Jiang Kanghu.⁵ Like Liu, Jiang Kanghu was a precocious young talent. Instead of taking the official examinations, however, Jiang studied Japanese in Beijing during his middle teenage years and thus was prepared for a sojourn in Japan in 1900-1901. On his return home Jiang was invited by Yuan Shikai, newly appointed governor-general of Zhili, to serve in the translation bureau at Beijing.⁶ This was the beginning of a personal relationship with Yuan that Jiang

would later seek, unsuccessfully, to exploit. In 1904 while teaching Japanese at the institution that later became Beijing University, Jiang established four women's schools to train teachers. Yuan Shikai supported this project.⁷ While in Japan again during 1907 Jiang attended some of the meetings of the Japanese Socialist Party. He might also have attended gatherings of Zhang Taiyan and Liu Shipei's Society for the Study of Socialism. Jiang traveled to Europe in 1909, where he sat in on the congress of the Second International in Brussels. He also had some interaction with the Paris *New Century* group, contributing at least two articles to the journal in 1909.⁸

Returning to China after the death of his father near the end of 1910, Jiang took up residence in Nanjing intending to observe the traditional period of mourning. He did give some lectures during this time, one of which made him famous. That lecture, given at Hangzhou on June 1, 1911, concerned the relationship between women's education and socialism. Enraged, the governor-general of Zhejiang appealed to Beijing to punish Jiang, who escaped to Shanghai. There in July, Jiang organized the Society for the Study of Socialism at a meeting attended by about four hundred people.⁹ On November 5, after Shanghai declared its independence of the Manchu government, the study society was reorganized into the Chinese Socialist Party, with its headquarters in the city. From the beginning Jiang said that his party should be nothing more than a study society, with no specific political purposes. His decision to call the organization a "party" reflects his ambivalence on several issues: the nature and purposes of a party; Yuan Shikai's possible response to this or other such organizations; and Jiang's own ambitions.

Jiang Kanghu headed—or at least set in motion—a movement of broad appeal. By January 1912 branches were organized in Nanjing (where five hundred attended the organizational meeting), Yangzhou, Suzhou, and many other places throughout the Jiangnan region. The party had daily and monthly newspapers, as well as a monthly magazine (some of these were printed on party-owned presses). These publications were backed by allied or sympathetic journals in cities as far away as Tianjin, Yantai, Changsha, and Chongqing.¹⁰ By April 1912, Jiang estimated the party's membership at about twenty thousand.¹¹ The incredible numbers he sometimes suggested probably were estimates of those involved in other party-fostered activities. In a pamphlet published in English after he came to the United States, Jiang's description of the party's activities included not only lectures, study sessions, and newspapers, but also a free public school for "orphans made by the battles of the First Revolution" (originally in Nanjing but subsequently adding branches in Beijing, Suzhou, and Yangzhou), a women's organization that worked for equal suffrage, and a Socialist Opera and Orchestra Company which performed "symbolical Socialist plays."¹²

The party's study sessions used "official readers as well as teachers, for a great number of the membership could not read." Thus, the party did set out

to recruit on a broad popular basis, which included labor organization.¹³ A few dozen workers joined the Chinese Socialist Party in early 1912, and soon afterward a National Labor Party (*Zhonghua Minguo Gong Dang*) was organized at Shanghai. By October this party claimed to have a membership upwards of two hundred thousand in fourteen provincial branches.¹⁴ Xu Qiwen, a worker who had joined Jiang's party, soon became the central figure in this workers' party. Xu won a great following among workers in Shanghai, where the party's activities were focused, for his effective leadership of labor actions and his ability to negotiate wage increases.¹⁵ The Chinese Socialist Party also helped to establish an early peasants' party, the National Peasants' Party (*Zhonghua Minguo Nong Dang*). Yang Liaogong, a Chinese Socialist Party leader in Songjiang xian (suburban Shanghai), launched the party after organizing local peasants in a movement to resist rent increases. When it appeared that a longer-term organization might emerge, Yang went to Shanghai to confer with Xu Qiwen. The peasants' party began operations near the end of 1912. Its activities included an experimental station, a farmers' bank, and an agricultural school.

Jiang Kanghu sought to build his movement by organizing parties to represent its several constituencies.¹⁶ While these various organizations thrived by emphasizing a number of simple and easily agreed upon goals that might have produced electoral success, theoretical issues were another matter. The platform of Jiang's Chinese Socialist Party included only the mildest of socialist planks in its eight-point platform.¹⁷ The party supported republicanism, ethnic tolerance, recognition of the legal rights of individuals, support for popular education, tax reform, and arms limitation. Only the two remaining points presented principles that were distinctly socialist: Jiang urged the establishment of public enterprises, the same state socialism that Sun Zhongshan called for. In the second of these, and the most original of all his points, Jiang called for an end to the right of inheritance as a means to strip from individuals all property except that which they could generate with their own abilities in their own lifetime; this was a socialism of opportunity.¹⁸ His concern for ethnic tolerance was directed against the anti-Manchu rage that Tongmenghui publicists had used to fuel the revolutionary movement, a racism that Jiang regarded as dangerous in its implications both for multi-ethnic China and the broader world. Jiang's statement of principles displayed creativity and logic; they have an appeal of their own, centering on Jiang's attempt to channel selfish interests to the needs of the larger society. Still, this set of principles lacked system, and Jiang was simply not a socialist. Shifu would point this out time after time, as did the narrow socialists who left Jiang's party in autumn 1912. Both shared the opinion of the Second International, to whom Jiang applied for recognition of the Chinese Socialist Party. The application was refused because the party did not call for social control of wealth.¹⁹

Jiang Kanghu understood that the party included at least two large factions. As early as spring 1912 he called for discussion, in the party's journals, of the

organization's future direction. Jiang suggested that the party might subdivide the pure socialists (*chuncui shehui zhuyi dang*) could become the Anarchist Party of the Chinese Socialist Party (*Zhongguo Shehui Dang zhi Wuzhi Dang*); and the fully political party (*wanchuan zhengdang*) could become the Democratic Party of the Chinese Socialist Party (*Zhongguo Shehui Dang zhi Minzhu Dang*). Jiang appears to have been genuinely open in seeking to foster thorough discussion among party members, and over the next several months many members expressed their views.²⁰ Clearly, neither the founder nor the members of the Chinese Socialist Party had yet resolved their ambivalence about the nature and operation of a party. Even by the middle of 1912, it became clear that a majority of the members did *not* wish to make their movement a fully political party. Persuaded by anarchist principles, they had already decided that participation in the political system was both morally wrong and counterproductive. This majority would form the Socialist Party later that year.

It was in the conditions of the "liberal Republic" that Jiang's party sustained its impressive growth during 1912.²¹ However, several provincial governors expressed concern to Yuan Shikai about this burgeoning popular movement; two of them, Tan Yankai in Hunan and Li Yuanhong in Hubei, proscribed the party.²² Jiang decided that an audience with Yuan might help to dispel the latter's concern about the party's potential threat to the government. During an interview with Yuan (June 1912), Jiang reiterated the party's support for the Republic, its essentially educational mission, and its desire to advance socialist principles only gradually, through a transformed public opinion.²³ Although unimpressed by Jiang's appeal, Yuan took no action against the party. As he returned to the south in August, however, Jiang became ensnared in a modest repressive sweep by Li Yuanhong; he was arrested in Hankou.²⁴ By spring 1913, however, Jiang would find himself appealing to Li against Yuan's excesses.

During his visit to Beijing, Jiang also had held discussions with Song Jiaoren and Zhang Taiyan, who then were organizing the Guomindang. Jiang had offered the support of his party if the Guomindang would retain women's equality and land reform from the Tongmenghui platform in its new program. However, Song and Zhang rejected Jiang's appeal, fearing that even these modest socialist principles would cost their party electoral support.²⁵ Sun Zhongshan (with Huang Xing) also called on Yuan Shikai in Beijing during August and September 1912. Sun described for Yuan his views on socialism during lengthy discussions of their common concerns about the Republic.²⁶ Sun also conferred with Song Jiaoren and Zhang Taiyan, he too seeking a role for himself and his moderate socialist principles in the Guomindang. But Sun too was rebuffed.²⁷ Only weeks after Sun's visit to Beijing, Jiang Kanghu invited him to give a series of lectures to the Chinese Socialist Party at Shanghai.²⁸ In *Backward Toward Revolution*, Edward Friedman develops the view that Sun's appearance before the Chinese Socialist Party constituted a bid to become the

party's leader, or at least to test that possibility. Given the background just described, this seems a likely alliance. However, Jiang rejected Sun's bid for leadership. Friedman cites these reasons: Jiang claimed to be opposed to turning his party into a "fully political party"; further, he rejected Sun's bid because of the latter's "superstitious faith in politics" and because an egalitarian party should not have a leader.²⁹

Song Jiaoren's rejection of both Jiang and Sun expressed a practical politician's assessment of the hopes for socialism in Republican politics. As to the interaction between Jiang and Sun among the minority of optimistic socialists, surely Jiang rejected Sun's bid simply in order to retain as large a following as possible for himself. Jiang's behavior through much of 1912 reflected his efforts to retain control of his party. A successful audience with Yuan Shikai would have strengthened his hand and perhaps kept the narrow socialists in the party. When his meeting with Yuan failed, Jiang understood clearly that he faced a widening rift in the party's membership.³⁰ Taixu and the narrow socialists then made their break at the party congress at Shanghai in October, establishing the Socialist Party.

Despite the split, the Chinese Socialist Party was somewhat revived through its involvement in the growing opposition to Yuan Shikai in spring 1913 following the assassination of Song Jiaoren. In a recent study of early Chinese socialism, Yang Kuisong and Dong Shiwei describe the May Day rally organized that spring by Shanghai's socialists, which was attended by some three thousand people.³¹ Probably the Socialist Party and Xu Qiwen's Labor Party took leading roles in this demonstration.³² But Jiang Kanghu leveled a strong attack against Yuan's growing authoritarianism. A few days later Jiang's party sent a letter to Vice President Li Yuanhong, urging him to resolve the crisis. Although Jiang's position was typically moderate, it did not produce overt armed opposition. That would soon follow, however, as the May Day rally focused a growing militance against Yuan Shikai within the Labor Party. On May 28 Xu Qiwen led a daring night attack on the Shanghai Arsenal. Its failure resulted in Xu's arrest and execution and the breakup of the Labor Party.³³

When Yuan launched his crackdown against the Chinese Socialist Party following the Second Revolution a few months later, his victim was not Jiang himself but a young associate named Chen Yilong, who was building a party branch in Beijing. Recollections by the historian Gu Jiegang, who joined Jiang Kanghu's party as a youth in Suzhou, show that Chen was another of the talented young leaders who blossomed in his work to propagate the new socialist faith.³⁴ Chen had gone to Suzhou with Jiang to set up the party's branch there, then headed the branch's activities for several months until he joined Jiang in the trip to Beijing in summer 1912. Chen then remained in the capital, where his party-building efforts prospered. He set up a branch headquarters in the Xuanwu district where many laboring poor lived in run-down conditions. There he also established a "people's school" (*pingmin xuexiao*); among other activities, the

branch sponsored Esperanto classes.³⁵ Chen's devotion and ability induced Li Dazhao to join the party; when their work expanded to Tianjin, Li was to serve as leader of the new branch there.³⁶ The authorities in Beijing and Tianjin harassed Chen throughout the first half of 1913.³⁷ When the general movement against his government began in August, Yuan moved with force against all potential threats. Then twenty-eight years old, Chen was taken into custody and soon executed, another martyr to the cause of socialism.³⁸ Both Yuan's proclamation outlawing the Chinese Socialist Party and a decree establishing martial law in Beijing linked the party with "Russian nihilists" and "foreign anarchists" and claimed that the party's true purpose was assassination. Yuan's proclamation also stated that the Chinese Socialist Party "foments disorder and is not like the socialist parties of civilized countries, which only study theory; if they are not stopped forcefully a great disaster will result and order will be destroyed."³⁹ In recounting these events after his arrival in the United States, Jiang suggested that such confusion on the part of the authorities had indeed caused the repression: "The 'Pure Socialist Party' and other anarchistic groups did much to discredit the [Chinese] Socialist Party...when the reaction set in, the government craftily used this confusion to aid its ends."⁴⁰

These early years proved to be the high point of Jiang's efforts to play a leading role in the socialist movement. He lived in the United States from 1913 to 1920, teaching Chinese at the University of California for much of this period. After sojourns in Russia and Europe, he returned to China in 1923 as president of the newly established Southern University (*Nanfang Daxue*) at Shanghai. Hoping to use this position as a platform for his political goals, he formally revived the Chinese Socialist Party in June 1924.⁴¹ Within a year, however, Jiang's penchant for associating his causes with benefactors of dubious reliability thwarted this new bid for political leadership. A letter he had written to a Manchu nobleman was published in a collection of materials intended to reveal a new effort to restore the Manchus to power. Discredited, Jiang went abroad again, this time to Canada, where he taught at McGill University.⁴² He returned to China again in the mid-1930s, his fortunes in decline, and eventually accepted a position in Wang Jingwei's pro-Japanese government; nothing is known about Jiang following the war against Japan.⁴³

Despite his flamboyant ego and his demonstrated lapses of judgment, Jiang displayed both courage and imagination in his advocacy of socialism during the late Qing and early Republican periods. His organization had provided an outlet for the enthusiasm for socialist ideas held by many thousands of Chinese as the Republic began. If Yuan Shikai had felt nothing to fear from them, he would have left them alone; instead, he provided this movement with martyrs.

Shifu's sojourn in the lower Yangzi area coincided with the burgeoning of Jiang's movement. It is likely that Jiang's successes helped to convince Shifu that a similar movement was possible in Guangdong. However, Shifu became convinced that theoretical consistency was necessary, and after launching *Voice*

of the People he persistently attacked Jiang. Of the differences between them, Jiang had one important advantage: he was politically astute in recognizing the value of breadth and consensus. On the other hand, Shifu's zeal for a consistent anarchism made him overly critical of potential allies. When Shifu moved to Shanghai in early 1914, he found support from some socialists who had entered the movement as members of Jiang's party, especially those who had joined the monk Taixu in forming the narrow Socialist Party.

Taixu, Buddhist Reformer and Political Activist

Within Jiang Kanghu's party it was the Buddhist monk Taixu and his associates who reacted to Jiang's broad socialism, forming the Socialist Party in October 1912.⁴⁴ Taixu's role in this revolt against Jiang Kanghu is remarkable in that the monk was only twenty two years old at the time. Actually Taixu was only unusually young, for Jiang Kanghu himself was only twenty-eight then. The careers of these two, along with Shifu and many others, marked the Revolution of 1911 as partly a youth revolution, like many of the later phases of China's ongoing revolution in this century.⁴⁵ If his Buddhist-oriented anarchism, or anarchist-oriented Buddhism, expressed a youthful idealism, the vicissitudes of revolution brought Taixu back to hard reality. By late 1913 he had seen his efforts to reform the Buddhist clergy rejected by most of his colleagues, and he had been crushed by the execution of Sha Gan, one of his close associates in the Socialist Party leadership, in yet another repressive action by Yuan Shikai's supporters in Jiangsu. Taixu continued to work at his several projects for another year. Then in late summer 1914, still frustrated in his reform effort and grieved by the outbreak of war in Europe, he began a three-year period of monastic seclusion and never returned to direct political activity. His efforts to reform Buddhism in China remained the chief mission of his later career.⁴⁶

This "revolutionary monk" came from a genuinely proletarian background in northeastern Zhejiang, not far from Hangzhou. Born as Lu Gansen in 1890, his father was an ordinary worker, a bricklayer, who died when the boy was less than a year old. The boy was raised by his grandmother, whose high character and devotion to religion made her a key influence in his life. When he was nine, she took him on a pilgrimage to Jiuhua Shan, a major Buddhist center in Anhui. The next year they went to Putou Shan, the island of temples near Ningbo, where Taixu later would begin his training as a monk.⁴⁷ Young Lu sometimes joined the classes taught by an uncle who was an itinerant teacher; otherwise he would have had little chance for any education.⁴⁸ After taking a job as a shop clerk when he was fifteen, he quickly decided to become a monk.

The name Taixu (Great Void) was bestowed on the teenaged boy as he began his training as a monk. He was ordained in 1906 at Tiantong monastery in Ningbo. His adeptness in reciting scripture passages caught the attention of

"Eight-Fingers" (Bazhi), the well-known abbot, who turned Taixu over to the monastery's most capable teachers.⁴⁹ In his first two years as a monk, a period of basic training, he repeatedly displayed his ability and now compensated for the lack of systematic education in his earlier years. At first Taixu's ability was applied to Tiantai, a major school of popular Buddhism. After a time he was drawn to Huayan, the totalistic teaching that had served as one of the sources of the revolutionary Buddhism of Zhang Taiyan and others.⁵⁰

Taixu did not immediately emerge as a revolutionary new member of the Buddhist clergy. However, his youthful energy led him into activities that propelled him along an increasingly radical path. He first became active in reform within the Buddhist establishment, helping to organize educational associations to strengthen clerical training, both in Ningbo in 1909 and during his sojourn in Guangzhou in 1910.⁵¹ Also in 1909 Taixu studied at Yang Wenhui's Buddhist institute in Nanjing, an experience common to many who associated Buddhism with revolutionary change. His revolutionary consciousness was stimulated through such personal relationships.

As this sketch of Taixu's early career will show, the Buddhist community did not welcome reform. However, there were a number of "revolutionary monks" who supported or participated in anti-Manchu activity. Monks who became politically active stood in the boundary between the routines of their discipline and the intellectual Buddhism stimulated by Yang Wenhui's academy. They were moved to political involvement partly by patriotism, by reflection on the professed values of Buddhism, and by their own observations and experience. While many monks favored overthrow of the Manchus, the court had supported the Buddhist establishment, so that most of its influential leaders disapproved of revolutionary activity by the clergy. This position was demonstrated in the experience of Zongyang, who was perhaps the best-known "revolutionary." Zongyang's activism began fairly early; in 1903 he joined Cai Yuanpei, Zhang Taiyan, and Wu Zihui in organizing the Chinese Educational Association (*Zhongguo Jiaoyu Hui*). Zongyang later lived in the same house with Sun Zhongshan in Tokyo; he joined the Tongmenghui and over a period of years assisted Sun in some of his activities. Sun's already positive attitude toward Buddhism was strengthened by these ties; thus, as provisional president in early 1912 he approved several Buddhist associations as described below.⁵² This sketch suggests a fruitful career, but it must be noted that Zongyang did not succeed to the abbotship of Jinshan, his home monastery and the site of major events involving Taixu in early 1912, because his fellow monks did not approve of his political activism.⁵³

Another of these activist monks, Qiyun, helped to nurture Taixu's growing revolutionary consciousness. By 1910, Qiyun already had been an active revolutionary for several years.⁵⁴ He joined the Tongmenghui during a period of study in Japan. He became friends with Qiu Jin and Xu Xilin, and after returning to China in 1906, Qiyun became a teacher in Datong School in

Shaoxing, where Qiu Jin taught. Taixu himself noted that when he first heard of Qiyun and his revolutionary views, he was too strongly attached to the traditional religious training to respond. Later, however, he had urged Eight-Fingers to intercede with authorities at Suzhou to get Qiyun released from prison for his revolutionary activity.⁵⁵ Thus, when they traveled together to Guangzhou in late 1910, Taixu was disposed to respond positively to Qiyun and the activists he would meet in the southern city.

The sojourn in Guangzhou produced Taixu's greater activism and specifically moved him toward anarchism. He became acquainted with several local activists, including such familiar figures as Zhu Zhixin, Zou Lu, and Ye Xiasheng, all of whom were at this time associated with the School of Government and Law.⁵⁶ It was during this time that Taixu read Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Marx; one of his sources for this information was *New Century*. Also at this time he began to read Zhang Taiyan's writings.⁵⁷ Yet another of his new contacts now was Mo Jipeng, one of Shifu's cofounders in the Conscience Society. Their acquaintance at this time did not necessarily contribute to Taixu's interest in anarchism, for Mo had not yet met Shifu (at this time Mo's work centered on a revolutionary drama troupe). Taixu also knew Lin Junfu, a Xiangshan activist who had been Shifu's friend since childhood. Taixu did not meet Shifu himself until moving to Shanghai in 1914. Their correspondence to discuss anarchist theory was published in several issues of *Voice of the People* from that period. At that time Taixu used another of his several names, Lewu (Happy in Nothingness).⁵⁸

Taixu's sojourn in Guangzhou probably would have lasted longer had the Huanghuagang uprising of April 1911 not occurred. Taixu was profoundly moved by the tragic failure of this attempt by local activists, led by Huang Xing, to spark a nationwide revolution, and he wrote a poem grieving for those who died. The poem expressed feelings widely shared, and it was published in a number of newspapers even as far away as Shanghai.⁵⁹ Governor-General Zhang Mingqi sent police to apprehend Taixu, who had taken refuge at the office of *People's News* (*Pingmin bao*) with his friend Pan Dawei, the newspaper's editor, a longtime revolutionary journalist and poet.⁶⁰ Influential friends arranged for the authorities to drop their charges against the monk if he would leave Guangzhou.⁶¹ Thus, Taixu returned to Jiangnan, where he resumed his efforts to strengthen Buddhism while becoming active in Jiang Kanghu's Chinese Socialist Party.

Taixu's activities in late 1911 and early 1912 reveal much about the renegades within Jiang Kanghu's party who would organize the Socialist Party. Taixu's projects at this time also show how his socialism merged with his ideas for reorganizing the Buddhist community of monks. Taixu went to Nanjing in late 1911, not to advance the anti-Manchu movement but rather to take advantage of the fluid circumstances to establish a reform-oriented Buddhist association. He had drawn up bylaws for the association and had met with Sun

Zhongshan, who granted approval to the association and its proposed procedures.⁶² While in Nanjing he stayed at Pilu Temple, which served as a focal point for the activity of a number of revolutionary groups, including the local branch of the Chinese Socialist Party.⁶³ He soon allied with Renshan, another reformist monk whom he had known at Yang Wenhui's institute, in a plan to establish a Buddhist academy at Jinshan, a major temple in Zhenjiang, about fifty miles downriver from Nanjing.⁶⁴ Renshan agreed with Taixu's socialism as applied to the Buddhist establishment: the property and income of monasteries should be used for the training of monks (and laity), and control of assets should be more open and less a function of each abbot's authority.

Jinshan was among the largest monasteries in China and the model of the "Jiangsu system" of organization and authority. The episode that Taixu and Renshan precipitated with their reform plan soon became known as "the great disturbance at Jinshan" (*da nao Jinshan*).⁶⁵ Renshan and Taixu remained diplomatic as they made preparations for a meeting at Jinshan to lay their plans before the Buddhist clergy and interested lay people from Nanjing, Yangzhou, and Shanghai. They received permission from the abbot, Qingquan, without telling him of their intent to take over his monastery for the reformist academy; in short, they deceived Qingquan, even though their motivation was positive enough.

Taixu's recollections of the meeting that followed are of special interest in suggesting the makeup of the socialist movement. Between two and three hundred monks attended this meeting. In addition, about three or four hundred more lay people attended, representing various professions; these were Zhenjiang Socialist Party members who could help to provide a majority in support of the reform plan.⁶⁶ Taixu and Renshan opened the meeting with explanations of their plan. When they finished, a senior monk, Jishan, from a temple in Yangzhou allied with Jinshan, came forward with a vociferous challenge. Then a shouting match flared between Renshan and Jishan, who was silenced only when one of the visiting laymen rapped him with his cane.⁶⁷ After order was restored, the meeting proceeded to the business at hand, and indeed the majority agreed to Renshan's proposal to establish the academy and to launch Taixu's proposed Buddhist association. Renshan set out to implement his plan immediately, opening classes the next morning. Taixu returned to Nanjing, leaving Renshan in charge of the academy. After some time, perhaps two weeks, Qingquan sent a group of ruffians to disrupt classes and destroy enough of the academy's property to bring its operations at Jinshan to an end.

Renshan then appealed to local authorities to intervene. Qingquan and several others were arrested, tried, and jailed! But the court's decision also provided that Taixu must discontinue the work of his association, apparently a quid pro quo to achieve a balance between the claims of the two factions. The that Qingquan appealed to Yuan Shikai's government after it became established

in office in spring 1912: Qingquan and his supporters were released from jail, and Jinshan was restored to Qingquan's authority.⁶⁸

Taixu thus helped to precipitate this episode that "epitomizes the shock with which the Republican era burst upon the Buddhist establishment."⁶⁹ Most in that establishment thought that Taixu and Renshan sought to rally their community at a time when many were calling for confiscation of Buddhist properties, but then had themselves seized the most important temple in the region for their own purposes. The two young monks had substituted a threat from without with what conservatives saw as an equally dangerous rebellion from within. Taixu later said of the episode, "My reputation in the Buddhist revolution started from this, whether I received people's respect or alarm, abhorrence or sympathy."⁷⁰ He stood by the methods he and Renshan had used: "Although the articles of our association had the flavor of social revolution regarding Buddhist properties and the common enterprise of Buddhism, we chose a peaceful and progressive order for change."⁷¹

While participating in the activities of the consensus Buddhist association that resulted from these squabbles, Taixu made further attempts to launch organizations that would embody his own ideas.⁷² At this point his strategy was to emphasize participation by individual monks and monasteries willing to break with the conservative establishment. One of his associations was called the Buddhist Personal Oath Society (*Fojiao Sishi Hui*). Taixu's underlying goal was to "convert the private into public" (*hua si wei gong*) through this new body, that is, to achieve change in the establishment by permeating it with the reform views of individual monks. Soon afterward he attempted to launch a Buddhist Alliance (*Fojiao Tongmeng Hui*) which would have followed five "essentials" of individual behavior.⁷³ Taixu's desperation at this point is suggested in the response he received from his recent fellow rebel, Renshan: "I don't dare go along.... I don't want to put forward some meaningless new terms and provoke the conservatives' wrath again."⁷⁴ While Taixu did have his supporters in these abortive efforts, his isolation is evident; still, he was undaunted.

In setting forth principles of organization for the monastic community to be incorporated in the associations he proposed, Taixu regularly used the common terminology of socialism. In monasteries as in society, Taixu believed in common property and looked to the fully open principle of distribution expressed in the maxim "to each according to his needs," the principle of distribution associated with anarchist communism. For the Buddhist community, however, Taixu suggested a gradual transition to communism, which could begin with democratic socialism (*minzhu shehui zhuyi*) and collectivism; anarchist communism would remain the goal.⁷⁵ In these linkages of political and economic order, Taixu was following what had become standard usage among socialists of all persuasions. His pursuit of anarchist communism marked him also as a narrow socialist. The terminology here returns us to the secular realm,

where Taixu as a leader of the Socialist Party also sought to advance these principles.

Taixu's references to his Socialist Party associates at the Jinshan gathering suggest the composition of this movement in Jiangnan region and the sources of their thinking about an organizing ideology. Besides the monks there were many educated Buddhist laymen and others in new or transitional professions among those who formed the Socialist Party in late 1912. As noted, those who joined this group of narrow socialists constituted a majority in Jiang Kanghu's movement. Probably most of them were young; clearly they were impatient for radical change. These people were educated and concerned for the fate of their country, but the religious quality of their concern made them more inclined than most to emphasize spiritual values as a major part of the effort to save China. Their choice of narrow socialism suggests their desire for definition and consistency rather than the grab-bag of ideas offered by Jiang Kanghu.

The narrow socialists had expressed their disagreements almost from the beginnings of the Chinese Socialist Party. One of the party's journals was *Social World* (*Shehui Shijie*), published from April through December 1912. In that journal's first issue Sha Gan published a discussion of narrow socialism, which emphasized the stricter sense of socialism already supported by many within Jiang's party. Even at this time, Sha spoke of the "Socialist Party" in several references. This rejection of "Chinese" in the party's name reflected preference for a movement that would transcend national boundaries, a point that Taixu and his associates later emphasized.⁷⁶ Further, in July those who formed the Socialist Party had launched a new journal, *Conscience* (*Liangxin*).⁷⁷ Thus, the split represented the assertion of independence by a group that developed a clearer conception of socialism soon after joining Jiang Kanghu's organization.⁷⁸ The break came at the second annual convention of the Chinese Socialist Party, held October 1912 in Shanghai. Instead of passing a new party platform as Jiang and his associates in the leadership wished, the rebels drew up a bill of protest and issued a statement of their own socialist principles.

The Socialist Party's statements of its principles and goals announced two broad objectives: the elimination of classes and the removal of boundaries, each of which included three specific purposes. Under the first, classes of rich and poor were to be eliminated, which meant the implementation of communism (*gongchan*); classes of nobility and commoners would give way to respect for the individual; and class differences between those with knowledge and the ignorant would be overcome by equality in education. Under the second, national boundaries were to be eliminated; also to be removed were the boundaries (*jiexian*) or barriers between families and (the third subpoint) between religions. The last represented the party's concern to remove superstition, a common theme among the Chinese anarchists. The party announced its tasks as threefold: propaganda, destruction, and construction. Propaganda would be carried out through magazines, books, and lectures. Destruction was to

include the eradication of authority and "preparation for the great world revolution." Given such a grandiose vision, the goals of the party's constructive work seem modest; these were to build nurseries, kindergartens, schools, hospitals, homes for the elderly, farms and factories, and public parks. The Socialist Party asked its members to abstain from certain kinds of behavior: they should not serve as an official or legislator, nor as a soldier or policeman; they should not join a political party (the organizers regarding their own as beyond politics); they should not use a family name, and they should not marry.⁵⁰

Taixu presented the key reasons for the new party's split from Jiang Kanghu's movement. Excerpts from both sides in the debate at the party congress reveal some points of agreement as well as the differences between these two groups. Jiang's spokesman, Yin Ren, claimed to have great respect for anarchism too, but believed that state socialism must be instituted before it would be possible to put anarchism into practice.⁵¹ State socialism was like the telegraph (*youxian dian*), Yin said; it was necessary before anarchism, the equivalent of the wireless (*wuxian dian*) form of communication, could be developed. Yin also compared state socialism to a bridge by which to reach the goal of anarchism. For Taixu, this introduced the classic dilemma between ends and means. He responded by asking how it would be possible to reach the opposite shore (*bi an*) on a bridge that would break down.⁵² State socialism must begin with the state, Taixu insisted, but anarchism begins with the entire world as its premise. Even with a republican constitution, cunning leaders could manipulate the system to retain power. Anarchism is the "wireless," Taixu insisted: anarchism had developed earlier than state socialism, and the conflict between "governmentism" (*youzhengfu zhuyi*) and anarchism had begun with the appearance of state socialism.

The issue that Taixu introduced with this comment became an important theme in this debate between the Chinese Socialist Party and the breakaway Socialist Party. Repeated references to the differences between Bakunin and Marx and their respective forms of socialism reflect the working knowledge of socialist theory shared by both sides. While admitting that he was not certain who had advocated socialism before the Chinese Socialist Party, Yin Ren stated that the party sided with Sun Zhongshan, whose view of socialism agreed with Marx and not with Bakunin. Taixu observed that the Chinese Socialist Party could attempt to espouse a socialism that was "neither Bakunin's nor Marx's" only because of Jiang Kanghu's adroitness at intermixing theory; but the result was "to mix fire and water."⁵³

While Shifu would criticize Jiang Kanghu alongside Sun Zhongshan on these same points, Shifu's views were not published until a year later; in other words, although Shifu became the major spokesman for these principles, he was not alone nor even necessarily the first to take them up. Certainly Shifu had his disagreements with the Socialist Party, but not on questions concerning the

differences between anarchist and Marxist socialism. The importance that Chinese socialists now attached to this issue leads back to the larger question concerning Chinese understanding of Marx's theory, which has attracted much attention in Western studies of the development of socialism in China. In earlier discussions, this question was cast in terms of a choice between anarchism and Marxism.⁵³ While the work of the Paris and Tokyo groups of Chinese anarchists decided this question (if indeed it was a question) in favor of anarchism, the issue emerged again as the Republican period began. Accurate information on the differences between Marx's and Bakunin's interpretations of socialism, and on the split between the two at the Amsterdam congress of 1871, had been available to Chinese intellectuals since at least 1906.⁵⁴ While both *New Century* and *Heaven's Justice* included some discussion of this historical background, both these journals assumed the correctness of anarchist principles. The reemergence of this question in Taixu's confrontation with Yin Ren reflects growth in the understanding of socialist theory between 1906-7 and 1913. Although this understanding was still based on limited information, it had settled in as a fixed notion about Marxism.⁵⁵

Taixu's debate with Yin provides further suggestion that the Socialist Party included many avid Buddhists, again presumably laymen as well as monks. This suggestion comes in Yin's attempt to chide Taixu and his colleagues for being unwilling to follow the precept of bodhisattvas, "If I don't descend into hell, who will?" Pursuing his view that state socialism would prepare for the "heaven" of anarchism, Yin observes that the anarchists are unwilling to be first to enter the "hell" of state socialism. Taixu responds by turning the argument around, noting that for Jiang Kanghu and his followers, state socialism is no hell at all, but rather the heaven of power. And what, Taixu asks, is the reason to descend into hell? It is to end the suffering that all living beings experience there, not to prolong that suffering. As for those anarchists who would be bodhisattvas, Taixu says,

They are willing to sacrifice their lives in imprisonment or slaughter at the hands of government; to sacrifice their reputations ... and be viewed with hostility by the government as armed rebels; they are willing to sacrifice their wealth and well-being, to eat coarse bread, wear crude clothing, live in the poorest housing, and travel in the worst accommodations; they are willing to sacrifice their time in propagating extreme socialism and in thus drifting between heaven and earth. And all who would do this must do it in the sacrificial spirit of 'If I don't descend into hell, who will?'⁵⁶

The religious quality of Taixu's anarchism is clear here and in many of his other writings.⁵⁷ For Taixu and others, the language of Buddhism was rich in connotations of revolutionary sacrifice and change.

It is also in this response to Yin Ren that Taixu describes the nature of the great popular movement he envisions:

[W]e will draw our dear comrades from all levels of mankind, and stir the eardrums of all mankind with the gospel of extreme socialism every day. With the truth of extreme socialism penetrating the minds of all mankind, looking to the prosperity of the people of the entire world and departing from the hell of the false morality of the evil system, we will all join hands together in the heaven of equality, freedom, and peace.⁸⁸

Shifu also looked to this vast awakening that would result from devoted effort to propagate the beautiful truths he espoused. But Shifu sought to remove from his appeal all traces of the religious quality so essential for Taixu.

Taixu presented anarchism as the fulfillment of a process in which religious and political development moved in parallel. In religion, he said, societies move from pantheism to monotheism to atheism. Political evolution begins with aristocratic rule, followed by monarchy, and culminates in an order that needs no government at all.⁸⁹ While the parallels Taixu set forth here do not stand up to logical or historical scrutiny, his use of this schema demonstrates the appeal of evolutionary thinking at this time. This appeal was probably strengthened because the idea of such stages fits with the Buddhist concept of kalpas, successive ages of spiritual development (and decline). This matching of Buddhist thinking with Western evolutionary concepts had been used at least as early as Kang Youwei. Zhang Taiyan had suggested in 1907 that the introduction of Christianity into China had enabled religious development to catch up with political development, making it possible for Chinese civilization to move on to terminating the imperial system.⁹⁰

Sha Gan, a close associate of Taixu's in the Socialist Party, attempted to express the party's principles in militant form and was martyred for his efforts. Little detail is available on Sha's age and background. He too was young, and as suggested by the nature of the Socialist Party's composition, probably also a devout lay Buddhist. He had studied in Japan, joining the Tongmenghui while there. Sha served briefly in the Jiangsu provincial education office after the Republican government was established.⁹¹ Many idealists became alienated from the new government through such attempts at public service, and evidently Sha moved quickly toward anarchism out of this kind of frustration. In the first issue of *Social World*, Sha appealed to others to join him in a Righteous Fighters Brigade (*Xia tuan*; *xia* is the term often translated as "knight-errant").⁹²

Sha's call to arms for the Righteous Fighters Brigade provides another example of the crusading tone of the Socialist Party faithful:

What kind of world is the present one? It is a world of false civilization and genuine barbarity, a world of raw power [*qiangquan*] without public principles. Who can correct the inequities in society? Who can bring light to the darkness of the universe? For this we must hope that fighters for righteousness will come forward and, holding fast to the single purpose of removing authority [*qiangquan*] as the cause of inequity in society, will totally devote their strength to fulfilling the ancient *xia*'s sense of justice.

United in our outrage, sustained by our scholarly outlook, and looking to the day of enduring victory, we will bring an end to this tragedy in which the strong consume the weak. This is the reason to establish the Xia Brigade.⁹³

Sha continued his efforts to organize a force against Yuan Shikai's authoritarian Republic. Thus, after the failure of the Second Revolution in late summer 1913, the local authorities in Nantong (Jiangsu) took him into custody and executed him.⁹⁴ Following Labor Party leader Xu Qiwen and Chen Yilong, Jiang Kanghu's representative in Beijing, Sha became at least the third martyr for the cause of socialism during the early Republican years. Although Taixu remained active for another year, the grief caused by Sha's death surely was one factor in his eventual decision to discontinue political activism.⁹⁵

Buddhism in the Revolutionary Thought of the Early Republic

The strongly Buddhist element in Taixu's anarchism provides an opportunity to summarize the kinds of influence and appeal that Buddhism had among anti-Manchu and anti-Yuan Shikai revolutionists. The work of Yang Wentui underlay much of this influence, and the belief that certain principles of Buddhism could help to transform Chinese society and the individuals who comprised it, goes back at least as far as Tan Sitong (that is, to the late Qing period). Tan's career exemplified the ideal of the bodhisattva prepared to sacrifice himself for others. This image appears repeatedly among the revolutionaries of the anti-Manchu movement, especially among those involved in assassination activity or in dare-to-die corps that undertook tasks almost certain to bring death. In his debate with Yin Ren, Taixu had asked, "If I don't descend into hell, who will?", applying the principle to the everyday struggle of changing society. Zhang Taiyan's admonition "to depend on oneself, not on others" also evokes the bodhisattva ideal, while at the same time offering a new ethic of public and public-spirited behavior.

Along with Zhang, Liu Sifu and Taixu were among those whose attraction to Buddhism brought the concepts of Buddhist thought into contemporary discourse on the remaking of society. Among the concepts used in this way were those referring to the self, or ego, *wo*. For example, *da wo*, the "greater self," had in Buddhist thought meant the self having experienced nirvana, liberation; *zhen wo*, "true self," was an alternative term with the same meaning.⁹⁶ Liu Shipei and Liang Qichao were among those who began to use *da wo* to refer to the nation or humanity at large as a collective self or mass self. *Xiao wo*, which appears not to have had a separate meaning in Buddhist thought, was used by some to refer to the individual, rather than to the mass of people.⁹⁷ (*Zi wo*, another term for self, came into use at this time to refer to the self with its own interests.)⁹⁸ While we might devote many more paragraphs to the etymology of these terms, the point is that the activist thinkers of the first decade of this

century reworked not just the Buddhist vocabulary for the self but also the role of the self, in society and in the cosmos, as they sought new bases for social organization. Zhang Taiyan made the negation of the self, *wu wo*, one of his 'five negations.' That term was regularly used to mean selflessness, egolessness, the absence of concern for oneself that was essential to the spirit of revolution.

The negations put forward by Zhang Taiyan or Taixu are cited by some writers in China as reflecting a nihilist quality in anarchism. Jiang Jun and Li Xingzhi seek to make this point, observing that these negations and the oaths of the various anarchist groups called upon individuals to give up the basic commitments that adult individuals make in all societies—to marriage, to a place of residence and a livelihood, to a nation and the institutions that support it.⁹⁹ Reformers as well as revolutionaries felt the weight of old institutions in their own lives and sought to create new ones that would be relevant to their current concerns. To negate the old patterns of life was the only way to begin that process. This terminology, and this process of seeing through to the truth of life by penetrating beyond the everyday and the apparent, has been an essential part of Buddhism from the religion's origins. Anarchist thought also urged individuals to reconsider the nature of society and the sources of its problems. The coincidence of the Buddhist revival and the introduction of anarchism in late Qing China helps to account for the great appeal of anarchism, a point well made by Peter Zarrow.¹⁰⁰ None of those who participated in this effort of deconstruction, from Zhang Taiyan to Taixu and Shifu, would have acknowledged that their effort was nihilistic, although they were prepared to be destructive. Here they stood solidly in the more recently established tradition of Bakunin. For every exhausted feature of the past, these revolutionaries offered a new process, a new and better way, which they believed to be crying out for implementation.¹⁰¹

In this transitional period of late Qing to early Republic, Buddhism underwent a secularization process. The thinking and actions (whether proposed or actually carried out) of individuals who took part in this process either as religious or political reformers tended in the same direction. Taixu sought to make both Buddhist teachings and monastic organization relevant to the life of a new Chinese society. At least some of the monks who received the education he called for, and later actually was able to provide, were fit religious teachers for a modernizing society. His ideal of revamping the economic organization of the Buddhist clergy would have provided models that any socialist society could have emulated.

Coming from the opposite end of the political scale, as a ranking reformer under the Qing, Yuan Shikai had projected great advantages for public education through the confiscation of Buddhist properties. Had he been completely successful in his goals regarding religion, Yuan like Napoleon probably would have nationalized China's church. Commenced during the Republican period, the

nationalization process has been carried out so systematically since 1949 that Buddhism appears to have little spirit left. Post-1949 policy to regulate Buddhism surely reflects official thinking about the religion's potential as a spiritual force. Perhaps the present demoralized state of the faith might change in the not too distant future, as Chinese Buddhists reflect on this period in their own history.

There were many aspects to the crisis facing China as this century began. As Zhang Taiyan, Taixu, and Shifu understood matters, this was a spiritual crisis. Buddhism was a tremendous resource from which thoughtful individuals could draw spiritual insight and strength. The Buddhist revival was indeed relevant to much more than religion. Buddhism revived was to be Buddhism remade. Both Zhang Taiyan and Taixu sought to establish "a religion without a god" (*wushen lun*), by which they meant to remove superstition and retain spiritual power based on clear understanding and personal commitment.¹⁰ Zhang tried to salvage what he could of his principles in the frustrating politics of the early Republic. Taixu retired to reconsider the role of a monk. Shifu embarked on his newfound mission, keeping much from his own study of Buddhism but believing he had advanced by embracing the political faith of anarchism.

While both Buddhism and anarchism were rejected many years ago in China's modern revolution, each played a much more important role in twentieth-century Chinese thought and politics than is generally recognized even now. In two excellent studies, Arif Dirlik has presented the anarchist contribution to the origins of communism in China and noted that the Chinese leadership has acknowledged that contribution and its importance. Although Buddhism has, or had, a different nature from modern political ideologies, the views of "revolutionary monks" and Buddhist-influenced activists suggest an earlier but similar transitional role for this traditional Chinese religion. The ultimate acceptance of Marxism in China has stimulated much scholarly attention both abroad and in China itself. As noted above, some Western historians have grappled with the Chinese rejection of Marxism during this first decade. And for those who write history in China there has been an implicit puzzle as to how the revolutionaries of this early period failed to see what Marxism could do for their country. Perhaps Marxism did not seem quite appropriate for China at that time, because elsewhere it was still only a theology and not yet an established religion. In time, this religion without a god, Marxism, would come to seem totally relevant to all of life in China. As years passed, however, Marxism as it developed in China failed to remove superstition and itself proved unable to avoid the creation of new gods. These features of a perverted Chinese Marxism were exploited to exhaustion during the Cultural Revolution. The excesses of that period produced widespread cynicism; yet today many people feel the need for a fulfilling set of principles to believe in. The concerns of Taixu and his

comrades in the Socialist Party are perhaps as compelling and relevant today as they were in the first decades of this century.

Shifu's anarchism grew out of this concern to restore spiritual vitality to the life of China. He returned to Guangzhou in the open atmosphere of the Republican dawn, optimistic that he might build on the groundswell of popular enthusiasm for the ideas of socialism demonstrated in Jiang Kanghu's movement, which had flourished in the lower Yangzi region. In contrast to Jiang, however, Shifu understood that numbers would be meaningless if those who joined his movement could not agree on principles. As to principles, Shifu stood much closer to Taixu; however, while Buddhism would remain Taixu's faith, Shifu found in anarchism a compelling truth for a new society, to which he would give himself with his entire being, and inspire others to follow.

Chapter 7

The New Beginning: Shifu Launches the Conscience Society at Guangzhou

Liu Sifu departed Guangzhou as 1912 began and went to Shanghai prepared to move on to Beijing and assassinate one of the chief enemies of the anti-Manchu revolution. He returned to Guangzhou half a year later as Shifu, self-declared apostle of anarchism in China. In the spring of 1912 he and a small group of comrades held the retreat at West Lake that produced the Conscience Society and its twelve-point pledge. While these twelve points were not all that Shifu understood as anarchism, they display the zeal that he brought to this newly defined mission. Shifu's comments on the twelve points reflect his devotion to social revolution, a broad antiimperialist impulse implicit in the principles of anarchism, and Shifu's rejection of assassination and other forms of revolutionary violence at this time. These comments also highlight the differences between Taixu's reform Buddhism and his own anarchism with Buddhist paradigms as programs for revolution in China.

Shifu and his associates returned to Guangzhou with the Conscience Society covenant as the basis for their activity. They established two headquarters in the city where members lived and carried on the group's work. But in summer 1913 the failure of the Second Revolution against Yuan Shikai changed the political climate in Guangzhou and throughout the country. Shifu was soon driven from the city and, after taking refuge in Macao for several months, moved with most of his group to Shanghai at the beginning of 1914. This most productive but further troubled final period in his career is dealt with in the next chapter.

Shifu's activities in Guangzhou demonstrate his zealous devotion to his purpose. The reader might wonder what manner of person Shifu was, to have so little doubt about his own rightness and, sometimes, to be so demanding of

others or intolerant of their feelings. Aside from members of his own family, the person most constantly involved in Shifu's life for the previous five or six years had been Ding Xiangtian. Their relationship, which grew ever more difficult for her, is also explored here.

The Retreat at West Lake

Liu went to Shanghai with Zheng Bi'an and Ding Xiangtian in January 1912, ready to proceed to Beijing for an assassination mission there if called upon. Ultimately they did not undertake a mission, but as they awaited authorization to carry out their plan, they had several weeks of idle time. Mo Jipeng, who had traveled on the same steamer to carry out a military assignment in Shanghai, took up with Liu's threesome. They resided together in one of Shanghai's Western-style hotels, Liu and Ding in one room, Zheng and Mo in another.¹ These first few months of 1912 were unusual in Liu's experience, a period of suspended animation. Mo Jipeng reports that the four of them attended the Chinese theater regularly.² With the Manchu abdication on February 12, several weeks of euphoria over the success of the revolution followed. Liu seems simply to have enjoyed life during this period; his usually serious outlook is highlighted in that a brief respite of pleasure is noteworthy. His love relationship with Ding Xiangtian probably was intensified at this point too. While it was not unusual for young men of his station to indulge their sexual appetite in visits to prostitutes, probably Sifu had never so indulged himself.³ An open relationship between "respectable" people was highly unusual at this time. Liu and Ding had been recognized as a couple as early as 1906. There had been periods of separation, the longest the years when Liu was in jail. The two then worked together in the China Assassination Corps, and they might have lived together then. But this sojourn in Shanghai brought circumstances in which the lovers consummated their relationship, if they had not done so earlier. Ding gave birth to a daughter near the end of 1912. The child's arrival would bring complications later, but the spring of 1912 was full of every emotional meaning that season can have.

Liu and his friends left Shanghai about mid-February and traveled in the Jiangnan region for some weeks. Their travels ended at Nanjing, with its renewed political importance as provisional capital of the Republic. Whether Liu had already planned to propagate anarchism, a month's stay in Nanjing surely contributed to his decision to do so; the political jockeying he observed surely confirmed an anarchist's suspicions about the folly and vice of politics.⁴ Mo Jipeng describes an encounter with Liu in Nanjing that suggests the latter already had his plans made. Mo had traveled with Liu, Zheng, and Ding to Nanjing, again in pursuing military business. After completing that business, Mo talked with a colleague, He Zhongda, and the two decided to approach Huang Xing seeking scholarships for study in Europe. As they were on their

way to talk with Huang, they met Liu, who admonished them. 'Kropotkin said, 'The truth already exists among men.' Revolutionaries don't need to study anything.... We'll go back to Guangdong and get to work. Forget your trip to Europe!'"

Liu and the others then proceeded to West Lake, where Mo joined them a few weeks later. West Lake, one of the great scenic attractions of the lower Yangzi region, was an appropriate choice for the retreat that Liu planned. Liu, Ding, and Zheng Bi'an selected White Cloud Cloister (*Baiyun an*), a modest establishment associated with other revolutionary activists, as the site for their discussions. Although White Cloud was not busy, when Mo Jipeng arrived, the group moved to another place to continue their talks. Through a wealthy Guangdong man they had met, the group found quarters at a private residence on the south side of the lake, called Cottage in the Willows (*Xiaowanliu tang*), and relocated there.⁹

If Liu's devotion to anarchism was building during 1910 and 1911, how could he have continued to work on behalf of the anti-Manchu revolution? The answer is simple. Removal of the Manchus seemed a necessary first step in any process of revolution. Liu expected—or at least hoped—that with revolution set in motion, the process might spiral from political into social revolution. The *New Century* anarchists had returned to China; they could be expected to take the lead in this process. By spring 1912, however, Liu had seen flaws in the revolutionary governments in both Guangzhou and Nanjing and had also seen that Wu Zihui and his *New Century* associates would not lead the kind of social revolution he now envisioned. The retreat at West Lake marked Liu's break with Sun Zhongshan, the Guomindang, and the political revolution they represented. Within a year, the *New Century* anarchists would also become targets of his criticism for being coopted into the new political system.

The retreat at White Cloud Cloister did not mark a sudden conversion for Liu. He had become convinced of the truth and relevance of the principles of anarchism, and he now chose to undertake on his own to advance the cause of anarchism.¹⁰ While the process of change that Liu Sifu underwent extended back to his earliest frustrations with the official examinations and the content on which they were based, the West Lake experience marked a clear and final turning point.

The Conscience Society Covenant

The first public statement Shifu and his group made was the Conscience Society covenant (*Xin she yue*), which perhaps is best described as an anarchist behavioral code tailored to the needs of an awakened Chinese moral elite. The covenant was published in a number of newspapers in Guangzhou; it also appeared in several contemporary socialist publications, notably the *World of Society*.¹¹ This dissemination in sympathetic journals reflects the mutual

influences among several similar groups organized in 1912. Wu Zhibui, Li Shizeng, and the other *New Century* anarchists had launched the Society to Advance Morality (*Jin de hui*) upon their return to China as a first step toward implementing their anarchist principles. Cai Yuanpei organized the Six No's Society (*Liu bu hui*) a few months later. Both the Chinese Socialist Party and the Socialist Party had put some of their principles in terms of simple negatives. The use of moralistic prohibitions by these organizations suggests their perception that revolution had a strongly moral content which needed the example of China's elite.⁹ It also reflects the dilemma shared by all who sought revolution in China: While each group indeed had its goals, what needed to be stopped in terms of individual behavior was more clearly apparent than what needed to be implemented systemically, and certainly this would be more readily done than actually carrying out any such program of change.

While some of Shifu's twelve points seem only indirectly related to anarchism as presented in, say, Kropotkin's theory, most of them were basic to social revolution in China. Both in initial statements of the covenant and later, Shifu observed that the twelve points were concerned with "eliminating the evil system of false morality in the present society and replacing it with a new morality in our consciences."¹⁰ Upon returning to Guangzhou he and his group organized the Cock-Crow Study Society (*Huiming xueshe*) for teaching, propaganda, and publication activities. Although it is sometimes difficult to distinguish which of his organizations was intended to do what, this distinction seems to have been clear to Shifu himself, at least as of 1912.

The Conscience Society covenant combined with the other early statements and activities to comprise Shifu's initial statement of his anarchism. Besides brief explanations that accompanied each point in the pledge, Shifu wrote a series of essays during spring and summer 1912 to amplify his ideas on several of the points in the covenant. These essays appeared in at least two local newspapers, *Pingmin bao* and *Tianmin bao*, that were sympathetic with the Conscience Society's efforts. Some of these articles were reprinted as small pamphlets but later destroyed by the authorities. The only four that remain were included in Shifu's *Collected Writings* (*Shifu wencun*).¹¹ These early statements reflect the combination of moral and scientific principles that was essential to Shifu's anarchism.

A restatement of the twelve points, which were always placed in the same order, will open our discussion: (1) Do not eat meat. (2) Do not drink liquor. (3) Do not smoke tobacco. (4) Do not use servants. (5) Do not ride in sedan-chairs or rickshas. (6) Do not marry. (7) Do not use a family name. (8) Do not serve as an official. (9) Do not serve as a member of a representative body. (10) Do not join a political party. (11) Do not serve in the army or navy. (12) Do not believe in a religion. Shifu's comments on this pledge provide a summary of his anarchism at this time.

Abstain from meat, liquor, and tobacco. These are the crudest and most polluting desires, Shifu says, and one must eliminate them in order to achieve a higher character and reach one's aspirations.¹² Of these three points, vegetarianism seems most perplexing, hardly essential to anarchism. Leo Tolstoy was the major figure associated with anarchism in Europe whose principles included vegetarianism; other Western anarchists would have seen the logic of this point without regarding it as essential. Following Tolstoy, Shifu presented vegetarianism as essential to nonviolence and to good health.¹³ As noted near the end of Chapter 5, Shifu's rejection of assassination and other forms of violence as tactics for revolution marks a similarity with Kropotkin's career. Shifu's linkage of vegetarianism with nonviolent social revolution might reflect the more immediate influence of Tolstoy. It is not clear whether Shifu intended all along to cease assassination activity at such point as the anti-Manchu revolution succeeded or whether this decision was part of his rejection of political revolution, made as the Republic began. In relating vegetarianism to anarchism, Shifu also had the example of Li Shizeng, who while in France had established a bean-curd factory that provided financial support for Chinese students. Shifu's commitment to vegetarianism was like his other commitments: he never backed away from it, even during his final illness when his doctor urged him to eat meat to regain his strength.¹⁴

Shifu presented scientific evidence for reasons to abstain from alcohol and tobacco. Alcohol produces euphoria, he noted, and then undermines the brain's ability to function. For tobacco, he offered a chemical analysis of its content drawn from Western scientists and also from Li Shizeng, who seems most directly responsible for this hygienic aspect of Chinese anarchism.¹⁵ Science is truth; as such, it is essential to the moral order. Those who would improve society must treat their own bodies in accordance with these scientific findings. This behavior is also part of the moral example they must provide. In discussing these basic principles, Shifu writes of their effect on *renge*, "humanity," "human nature," or "human quality." In concluding this discussion he repeats, "Everyone should improve his own *renge* in order to assist the progress of society and mankind; if we develop our *renge*... everything we do will accord with the truth."¹⁶

Do not use servants. Do not ride in rickshas or sedan-chairs. The essential argument on both these points is that such labor is dehumanizing because one person directly exploits another. Shifu noted that labor to carry another human being had long ago ceased to be used in the West, and only in the countries of the East did people see nothing strange about such work. He acknowledged that even those who did this kind of work were concerned that, without it, they would have no job at all. But he likened their situation to that of prostitutes and other exploited groups: good work could be found for those who had been victims in such activities, and in this other work they could "recover their free humanity."¹⁷

Shifu also outlined the pattern by which capitalists exploit workers. The labor of working people produces agricultural and industrial goods; workers get production out of the land or from machines, but the benefit goes to capitalists. The exploitation of servants, bearers, and pullers epitomized this problem in China. Shifu quoted one of Bakunin's statements on freedom to emphasize people's interdependence: "If others are not free, I am not free either. If others are slaves, I also lose freedom. If others are without humanity [*rengei*], my humanity is reduced too."¹⁸ This statement was most fitting on the issue of using servants. Shifu said, There was a common error, he pointed out, in thinking that the position of such humble workers was part of the social division of labor (*shehui fengong*). But ultimately everyone would be equal, he said, engineers and miners, architects and carpenters would be the same. This was the trend of evolution. His statements on this issue demonstrate that as he commenced his mission on behalf of anarchism, he expressed the predicament of workers in terms of economic analysis as well as morality.

Do not marry. Do not use a family name (*zixing*). Of marriage, Shifu noted that most women remained playthings for men, and that the apparently equitable relationship of marriage is only nominal. Marriages produce fathers and sons, a relationship that also is unequal. This is the basis of families, which serve as the basis of the system of private property and thus are not in the public interest. In order to change these institutions, "people themselves must end the marriage system and practice free love." The result would be no involvements with family nor distinctions according to name. "This is treating not only kin as kin, and treating not just your own children as yours; wouldn't this be the beginning of *datong* society?"¹⁹

Shifu linked the refusal to use a family name to humankind's broader social units. He sought to return to the beginning: all of China's four hundred million people sprang from the Yellow Emperor, he said, and Darwin's theory had established that the earliest human ancestors had sprung from the apes, so that people everywhere are part of the same large family. "Family names are selfish things." Family names are responsible for boundaries of districts and provinces, of nations and races. Thus, people struggle for power locally, and on a largest scale people struggle in wars between nations. "How can anyone who hopes for peace not seek to be rid of this obstacle?" Shifu calls here for nurseries, homes for the elderly, and schools to train women, all to replace the family in these functions. With inherited property eliminated, he says, it would be easy to launch such institutions. He looks to the voluntary efforts of "friends of the Society" to establish institutions for this purpose; they could make all the decisions about the operation of these institutions.²⁰

The only way to improve matters is for people to begin to practice free love in order to overcome false morality and superstition and to behave according to rational principles. When a man and a woman love each other, sexual relations are natural because both feel passion.²¹ The relationships in

form need not be permanent, however, because feelings change, or the two people might develop in different directions or at different rates. So new relationships should be possible. None of this is lewd or licentious, Shifu says. The prevailing view about what is lewd persists because of male power. In his view of sexual morality, lewdness is simply excess.²² The concern for health regulates sexual activity, and autonomy ensures responsibility.²³ Shifu concludes by asserting that free love cannot be fully implemented until women achieve economic independence. "To advocate abolishing marriage today is to call for the general self-consciousness of women and to support their economic independence, so that they may recover their original humanity [*renge*]."²⁴

Ceasing to use family names also would reduce the power of familism:

Society should take the individual as its basic element. Since there have been families, the family has been the unit [*danwei*] of society. The individual does not know there are direct responsibilities to society that he should accept, but only puts his interest in the family... [T]hus the progress of society is hindered.²⁵

Property is "the public things of the world" (*shijie zhi gongwu*) and not something people should have for themselves. But in families the older generation plans to accumulate savings, and the younger generation look hopefully to receiving the property. Thus, the young men and women obey their elders and have no way to regain their independent humanity (*renge*).

To his own discussion Shifu appended Li Shizeng's essay, "Revolution in the Three Bonds" (*Sangang geming*), which originally had appeared in *New Century* in 1907.²⁶ In introducing Li's essay, Shifu drew a somber analogy of the power of the family system:

We say that the Chinese family is not a family but a prison of greatest darkness. This prison has marriage as its foundation, family names as its bricks, and the traditional teachings about rights and obligations as its mortar, and all this is built into a somber, secure prison. The family head is the warden, and so many pitiable young men and women are his prisoners. In this kind of prison, after receiving the warden's abuse to the full and becoming accustomed to life in the prison, one day when the warden dies, they carry it on and become the warden to all the young men and women who come along later. And after hundreds and thousands of years, all this flows together. There is no Chinese man who has not been a prisoner, and also none who has not been a warden. And the women, from beginning to end, have been prisoners of the prisoners. Yip! It is pitiable beyond pity!²⁷

Do not serve as an official. Do not serve in a representative assembly. Do not join a political party. These three and the following two points are the most predictable for an anarchist's pledge, as they concern government and its props.

Shifu notes that all three of the activities rejected here play important roles in systems of authority. "China certainly does not need to go this way.... once we start down the road of politics, we first destroy bits of conscience, and then [the flaws] live on in a society with government [zhengzhi shehui]."²⁸ All who enter politics become enemies of the people, and what person of goodwill (youzhi zhi) would wish to become an enemy of the people?

Do not serve in the army or navy. These military organizations kill people and disturb the peace. Taxation and expenditures for military forces benefit the wealthy and harm ordinary people (pingmin). When socialism is implemented, national boundaries will disappear. "So if we want world unity (datong), we must start by eliminating armies, and if we wish to eliminate armies, we must begin with people all refusing to be soldiers or sailors."²⁹

Do not believe in a religion. "Divinities (including Buddhism and clan religion) are unseen authorities, and religion makes use of this." As authority is inequitable and not free, we must oppose religion. Formal religions fade away as evolution unfolds, but problems remain because of the false authority of moral teachers:

All the false morality and corrupt systems in every age are made by the clever people, and the countless evils of our present society are nothing other than this flowing poison; for the world to honor what they say, and call them sages, and believe in them as paragons, is really the same as siding with the enemy. So our Society also would completely eradicate the teachings of the so-called sages.³⁰

Shifu's outline of the twelve points was followed by an invitation to become a friend of the society (*sheyou*). Anyone who would follow the twelve points was invited, whether male or female, and regardless of nationality. Like the other Chinese anarchist groups of this period, the Conscience Society provided a loophole, albeit a smaller one than that of the Society to Advance Morality, and invited those who agreed but for some reason could not immediately follow all twelve points (for example, someone currently serving in an army, or someone who agreed but whose spouse would not agree). The Society had no officers or rules or punishments; if someone joined and later decided he or she could no longer uphold the pledge, there was no penalty for withdrawing. The organizers, "Shifu, Bi'an, and Jipeng," then added their names and gave their address, the Cock-Crow Study Quarters on Cunshan East Street in Guangzhou. These first statements of his anarchism do indeed reflect the influence of the *New Century* group, but they emphasize Shifu's own sense of what was most important for social revolution in China. Science is vital, providing a modern fulfillment of knowledge. Its principles must be incorporated into the individual behavior of those who would influence others. Social and economic organization incorporates class arrangements that must be eliminated

of the abilities of all are to be released for the common good. But for Shifu, the existing social order was epitomized in the family. This was the source of the tyranny in Chinese society. For Shifu, removal of the family system had become the essential feature of social revolution. Only with that achieved could the people of China reclaim their humanity. Shifu made *renge* the equivalent of the Confucian *ren*, cultivable by the individual but also a manifestation of the social network in which the individual lives. While this influence from Confucianism is clear, several of the points in the Conscience Society covenant reflect the inspiration of Buddhism, an influence that even then Shifu would have denied. Surely Buddhist practice suggested two of Shifu's most significant actions at this time—his attack on the family system and his decision to stop using a family name. But the anarchist outlook provided his understanding of how social organization could be transformed, and the personal transition to Shifu, his own renewed self, became simply the first step toward providing a personal example of new principles.

Commencing Propaganda Activity in Guangzhou

When Shifu and his comrades returned to Guangzhou in summer 1912, Hu Hanmin was serving as provincial governor. Despite some ill feeling toward Hu and his sponsor Sun Zhongshan, Chen Jiongming had agreed to serve as commandant of the provincial military forces. Part of these differences were ethno-linguistic. Chen's home was in Haifeng in eastern Guangdong, where a different dialect was spoken. This difference created some ongoing enmity, not just between leaders but also among ordinary people, a situation little affected by the Revolution of 1911.³¹ Hu and Chen cooperated reasonably well despite their differences, and the anarchists could usually rely on Chen for help when they needed it.

Shifu and his comrades established the Cock-Crow Study Center (*Huiming xueshe*) at No. 8, Cunshan East Street. This was located in the area of Guangzhou called the Western Suburb, beyond the old city wall.³² A second headquarters was opened when Mo Jipeng, again traveling separately, returned to Guangzhou shortly after Shifu's arrival. Mo and Lin Junfu had made a stopover in Hong Kong, where an old acquaintance offered them the opportunity to manage some of his firm's activities in the East Park area of Guangzhou.³³ Mo and Lin rejected the business opportunity but jumped at the offer of a place to live, and this site became the East Park Cock-Crow Study Center. The Cunshan East Street office was located in the merchant-dominated part of Guangzhou. East Park stood in the section of Guangzhou dominated by the gentry. With these two centers, the group had a presence amidst both the influential classes in Guangzhou.³⁴

The Cock-Crow Study Center carried on teaching and propaganda activity. Shifu was among those revolutionaries who liked this image of the rooster

awakening a sleeping community.³⁵ His journal *Voice of the People* was originally entitled *Cock-Crow Record*. Even after the title was changed, this image was retained in a feature bringing news of socialist and labor activity in China and abroad called Record of Cocks Crowing in the Storm (*Fengyu jisheng lu*). The Cock-Crow Study Center published anthologies of anarchist writings and managed Esperanto programs, both described below. But Shifu and his associates also intended a more direct kind of effort in setting up their study center. The front door of the Cunshan East Street building opened into a combined office and study, with a large table toward the rear. There Shifu and his comrades studied and discussed anarchist principles and current events. When people came to inquire about their principles, the table became Shifu's lectern, from which he lectured and responded to questions. As his name indicated, Shifu was prepared to teach. Both these headquarters also served as residences. Shifu augmented the center's staff by bringing in several members of his family. Enter Shifu's four sisters, the "Four Little Pigs," as they were affectionately called by the other members of the group. Named Wudeng, Wuwei, Tianfang, and Baoshu, the sisters ranged in age from the early twenties down to the middle teens.³⁶ Ding Xiangtian also lived at Cunshan East Street, and Zheng Bi'an's younger brother, Peigang, soon joined this group. Eventually Zheng Peigang married Wudeng, the oldest of the sisters.³⁷ After a time, two of Shifu's younger brothers, Shixin and Baozhen, also joined them.³⁸ The entry of Shifu's siblings into this urban commune attests to the continuing closeness of the Liu family. Having used much that remained of the family's means to get Sifu released from jail, his father still supported Shifu's efforts. Despite Shifu's attacks on the family system, his experience made him feel his own family was different: did he fail to see the irony in this situation?

The East Park group grew through a network of personal friendships. Mo Jipeng and Lin Zhimian, younger brother of Lin Junfu, were joined by Zheng Bi'an and his wife.³⁹ Mo's army friend, He Zhongda, also lived at East Park, as did a woman from Dongguan, the home district of all three men.⁴⁰ This Dongguan connection suggests another form of expansion through personal association. The majority of the group's members came from Xiangshan, Shifu and Zheng Bi'an's home, and Dongguan, Mo Jipeng's. Besides the younger siblings from Xiangshan, Shifu's longtime friend Lin Junfu was a member, as were two other men from Xiangshan.⁴¹ Some individuals joined or supported Shifu's activities because of other kinds of association with him. Pan Fuxi had been a member of the China Assassination Corps. Several journalists became involved because of Shifu's earlier work in that field. As editor of *Pingmin bao*, Pan Dawei published Shifu's essays and announced the group's activities. Liao Pingzi, a poet and a member of Pan's staff, actively supported Shifu.⁴² Liang Bingxian and Wang Qiumei also wrote for *Pingmin bao*; Liang later contributed to Shifu's journal and also launched anarchist journals of his own while in Southeast Asia.⁴³

The Esperanto movement drew others into Shifu's activities. Xu Lunbo, who taught the group's classes in Esperanto, became associated with the anarchists by this means. Xu had earlier studied in France; although his major interest was silk culture, he also had become versed in Esperanto. After returning to China he had tried several times to launch Esperanto study at schools where he taught, but had gotten little response. When Shifu invited him to teach at East Park, Xu was pleased to accept.⁴⁴ One of Xu's most successful students was a teenager named Huang Zunsheng, who became one of China's premier Esperantists.

The nucleus of Shifu's group consisted of fifteen to twenty very active people, with many more less directly involved. The support of such local newspapers as *Pingmin bao* was indeed effective; thus, the Guangzhou anarchist movement was effectively launched during the second half of 1912. However, not all those who supported the group's activities were full members of the Conscience Society. Some of those who were only supporting members played a most important part by providing financial backing for Shifu's work.⁴⁵ While sources are vague about the amounts they provided, it is clear that several well-to-do people made major contributions. There was a gift of 50,000 *yuan* given to Shifu soon after the final negotiations between Sun Zhongshan and Yuan Shikai were completed. Presumably the donor wished to reward Shifu for his contributions to the revolutionary cause and support his subsequent efforts.⁴⁶ At first Shifu seems not to have been much concerned about funds: such a large gift would have supported the group's work for some time. Later he reported contributions in the concluding notes to each issue of his journal; the amounts from individual contributors were almost always small and could not have covered more than publication expenses.⁴⁷

One of the Cock-Crow Center's major activities during its first year was to publish anthologies of anarchist writings. These were almost entirely translations of the works of European anarchists or articles by *New Century* writers, all published in that journal. Their first publication carried the title *Selections from New Century*;⁴⁸ it was produced during summer 1912, even before the formal announcement of the Conscience Society covenant. Next came a selection of articles entitled *The Essence of Anarchism*, published in August 1912. Another anthology, called *Soldier's Gospel*, which emphasized the anti-militarist themes of anarchism, had a great impact among the thousands of troops in Guangzhou. Yet another collection, *Famous Works of Anarchism*, was put out in April 1913. Five thousand copies of each anthology were printed.⁴⁹ The group also printed ten thousand copies of the Conscience Society's pledge in order to give it broader distribution. In addition to the anthologies, they distributed some fifty thousand picture-postcards of anarchist leaders such as Kropotkin, Bakunin, and Tolstoy, with quotations expressing some of their major ideas.⁵⁰ They also made available stationery and envelopes printed with some of these quotations.

There was a good deal of overlap between *Essence* and *Famous Works*. An overview of their content indicates what Shifu sought to emphasize of the received wisdom from the Paris group. Both collections began with "The Principles of Revolution," which links science to social revolution.⁵¹ "A Talk about Anarchism between Two Workers," by the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta, also appeared in both volumes, its question-and-answer form serving as a catechism. Another piece was "An Explanation of Socialism," which outlined the various forms of socialism and thus served as a convenient primer for Chinese readers.⁵² This offered the sort of basic information that Shifu sought to establish as essential in his later discussions of the state socialism of Sun Zhongshan and Jiang Kanghu. Finally, both anthologies included two items on Kropotkin's anarchism, a discussion entitled "Kropotkin's Theories" and a translation of Kropotkin's pamphlet, "Law and Authority."⁵³

Tianyi bao, the Tokyo anarchists' journal, was also represented in *The Essence of Anarchism* by a lecture that Kotoku Shusui had given to that group in 1907. Besides presenting a basic outline of anarchist ideas drawn mainly from Kropotkin, in this lecture Kotoku had made two points that Shifu regarded as important for Chinese anarchists. The first was that if the Chinese people carried out an anarchist revolution, they need not fear that their country would be partitioned, because the peoples of Europe and America would also respond with revolutions of their own.⁵⁴ Kotoku also suggested that for anarchists in Asia, internationalism should begin with a sense of Asian solidarity. Another important topic in the anthologies was opposition to the marriage and family systems; six discussions on one or the other of these interlocking issues appeared in *Essence*.⁵⁵

While it is difficult to measure the response to the Cock-Crow group's propaganda, it is clear that *Soldier's Gospel*, the last of the four anthologies, had a definite impact among military units who remained in Guangzhou when the book appeared in early 1913. As of December 1911 there had been about 140,000 troops in the city, including some of bandit origins who had been enlisted in the revolutionaries' cause. It was expensive to maintain this number of soldiers, and as time passed some of them reverted to banditry, creating problems for the government. Both Hu Hanmin and Chen Jiongming had continued to disband troops; their efforts reduced the number to only 40,000 by early 1913.⁵⁶ As noted, Chen Jiongming had been supportive of Shifu and his causes. When *Soldier's Gospel* was issued, discipline had deteriorated to the point that Chen became concerned, and he sent the Cock-Crow group a letter telling them to stop distributing the book among the provincial military forces.⁵⁷

Shifu was fortunate to be working in an environment in which there was some understanding and respect for his goals. Still, he and his comrades constituted a minority who did not agree that revolutionary change could best be achieved through government. An outline of the policies instituted by the

revolutionary government in Guangzhou offers a contrast to Shifu's plans for social revolution. In Edward Rhoads' characterization, the revolutionary government in Guangzhou sought 'cultural transformation' but 'not a social revolution'.⁵⁸ Some of the changes continued themes begun under the Qing. They also reflected the influence of Christian missionary effort: probably a majority of those in the new government were Christians or had attended missionary schools.⁵⁹ The new government abolished Confucianism as an official ideology, not a reflection of iconoclasm but rather as part of an effort to remove support for traditional social privilege. The regime was openly hostile to Buddhism and Daoism, however, applauding as Christian zealots smashed shrines and statuary in temples of both religions.⁶⁰ Other reforms sought to change customs. The Western calendar was adopted, but this effected little change in the celebration of the traditional New Year, which was the government's goal. Changes in dress came more easily, and most people in Guangzhou and its hinterlands began to wear Western-style clothes, if only a token cap or hat. An order requiring queues to be cut was carried out quickly and without resistance except in the most conservative areas of Guangdong. The new policy also emphasized egalitarianism. All honorific forms of address were to be dropped; even officials were to be addressed simply as Mister. In pursuing the goal of women's rights, the new government provided that the provincial assembly would have ten woman members, elected by women. Those who refused to support the antifootbinding movement were threatened with loss of their civil rights. Economic reforms were generally modest. They sought to encourage commercial and economic development and to support Chinese enterprises in competition with foreign firms. The government also had intended to implement Henry George's principle that the public and not individuals should benefit from the unearned increment in land value. However, this modest plan for a kind of land reform had not been effected before the Second Revolution of 1913.

A second major project of the Cock-Crow group was to build an Esperanto movement in Guangzhou. Shifu saw the Esperanto movement as an essential part of the worldwide people's revolution he sought to advance. Each of the group's anthologies included an appeal for the use of Esperanto, and even as the anthologies were being published, Shifu was at work to establish a program for study of the world language. Initially this effort was undertaken jointly with Pan Dawei and the *Plain People's* group. Pan had obtained a building near the Cock-Crow Center, where he opened the Plain People's Public School (*Pingmin gongxue*) with Liang Bingxian in charge.⁶¹ With Xu Lunbo as instructor, the first Esperanto class began in early summer 1912, meeting in two-hour sessions three times a week over six months. Shifu, Zheng Peigang, and Huang Zunsheng were among the most enthusiastic students in this first group.

The response for Esperanto classes improved when the school was moved to East Park. When the group decided to change the site for the classes, they

also decided to hold an Esperanto Congress in Guangzhou. Two hundred people attended this gathering, held at a theater at the East Park center.⁶² Soon afterward, the Guangzhou Esperanto Society (*Guangzhou Shijieyu hui*) was established. Although the numbers still were not large, the response to the congress and to subsequent classes indicate a solid basis for this aspect of the group's work. The society made its headquarters in an office in the East Park building. Financial contributions made at the congress enabled the school to provide better facilities and materials for its students. Talented students joined the classes, including some who had recently returned from study in Japan.⁶³ The Esperanto Society was concerned with broader issues than language study. They held a general meeting every Sunday (a day of rest on the new calendar) to discuss national and international affairs, educational issues, and other matters of interest to the members. At least this once each week, Shifu walked across Guangzhou, an hour-and-a-half each way, to be present. Zheng Peigang and Huang Zunsheng regularly accompanied him. Shifu alternated with Xu Lunbo in serving as the Guangzhou Society's correspondent and alternate to the Universal Esperanto Association at Geneva.⁶⁴

The worldwide Esperanto movement appears to have reached a peak just at this time. While Esperantists had organized an international league by 1894, their continuing growth was reflected in the first international congress, held in 1905.⁶⁵ Esperantists in China felt an almost tangible solidarity with members of the movement in other countries. As already noted, the high degree of overlap between anarchism and the Esperanto movement in Europe strengthened this sense of comradeship. All this was symbolized by several tokens of involvement provided by the international organization. Each member received a certificate from the Geneva headquarters. Besides teaching materials from the headquarters, there was an Esperanto anthology entitled *Selections from Banc Esperanto Literature*. The Guangzhou Society also received two journals, *The Review* (*La Revuo*), a scholarly journal, and a more general magazine entitled *Universal Unity* (*Universala Unuigo*), both of which were printed in Esperanto, English, French, German, and Russian.⁶⁶ The Guangzhou Society also had a phonograph record of The Song of Hope, the association's international anthem, to play at their meetings. Members could buy Esperanto watches, made in Switzerland, and the Guangzhou branch also had on hand samples of the international currency adopted by the world body. These symbols gave the Guangzhou Esperantists a sense of belonging to an important international movement.

Shifu and his comrades taught Esperanto with the same zeal that they applied in propagating anarchism. In spring 1913 they decided to take the Esperanto movement to Xiangshan, home district to Shifu and others in the group. Zheng Daoshi and Huang Zunsheng went to Shiqi to conduct classes. The reception was excellent; educational leaders and some prominent members of the gentry joined the classes. Zheng and Huang remained in Shiqi long

enough to take their students through the six-month basic course.⁵⁷ While this episode further suggests the respect accorded to Shifu and his fellow Xiangshan intellectuals, it is remarkable that this international movement should have penetrated to the Guangdong hinterland.

The Guangzhou Esperanto Society felt close camaraderie with a similar association at Shanghai, which had been established even before the revolution. The Shanghai Esperantists also affiliated with the Universal Esperanto Association. The leading spirit in the Shanghai group was Lu Shijie, another Chinese pioneer in Esperanto work.⁵⁸ With Sheng Guocheng, his most accomplished student, Lu opened a full-time Esperanto school in Shanghai. For Shanghai Esperantists also, study of the international language represented only one activity to express their social and political views. Lu, Sheng, and others had joined Jiang Kanghu's Chinese Socialist Party, and the party organ *Humanism Weekly* (*Rendao zhoubao*) often carried news of the Esperanto movement. Although information on Lu and Sheng is limited, they did join Sha Gan and Taixu in breaking with Jiang and joining the Socialist Party. This comradeship between Shifu and the Shanghai Esperantists seems to have been an important factor in his decision to relocate in Shanghai after being forced to leave Guangzhou in autumn 1913.

Shifu's efforts to build the Esperanto movement in Guangzhou reflected his belief that use of the international language was basic to the anarchist revolution, not simply a desirable frill. Presently, when there is very little enthusiasm for Esperanto, Shifu's zeal seems misplaced. He had suggested other projects both consistent with his anarchist principles and surely more pressing than learning Esperanto. For example, why did he not choose to begin by launching a public nursery, or—like Li Shizeng—a *doufu* plant that might have become the nucleus of a commune? Shifu's choice of this Esperanto project becomes understandable if one considers the nature of his anarchism, the time when he began his mission, and his insistent idealism. Shifu learned his anarchism from the *New Century* group, who had presented Esperanto as part of an achievable future based on science and reason. These universalist principles resonated profoundly in Shifu's new anarchist consciousness. The Universal Esperanto Association had recently been established and was growing quickly in Europe. Peace and general prosperity prevailed, and the new century seemed an era of great promise. For all Chinese intellectuals who became captivated by Esperanto, it is well to consider the importance of literary accomplishment in their own culture; what could be more important in a new world of universal truths? But the coming of war in summer 1914 shattered these hopes among Europeans. For Shifu himself, the coming of war in 1914 also had other difficult consequences, discussed in chapter 8.

As already observed, Shifu's importance does not lie in being first to present anarchism in China. However, because of his activism at the beginning of the Republican period, Shifu's interpretation of anarchist principles

profoundly affected Chinese intellectuals' understanding of this political faith. His devotion to the Esperanto movement reflected his vision of a supranationalist anarchist society in the future. He remained antiimperialist and sought to liberate China as a nation from the control of capitalists who represented the power of other nations. However, he now defined these points in positive terms: The peoples of all societies would one day take matters in hand, and together remove the burdens of nationalism and capitalism; through Esperanto they could communicate in a new and rational human order. Thus, although he did not lack concern for the welfare or the fate of China and, most of all, of the people of China, his devotion to the universalist principle caused him to set nationalism aside.

Living the Anarchist Faith

Shifu's devotion to providing a living example of his beliefs meant that he also would do his best to apply those principles in his daily routine and in his basic human relationships, and that he would expect those with whom he lived to do the same. Thus, the group who lived at Cunshan East Street developed a pattern of close communal living. Shifu stayed extremely busy with the major tasks comprising his and the group's mission. Besides his study of Esperanto, he edited and supervised publication of the anthologies. In addition to such specific tasks he devoted long periods of time to study, and he made himself available to anyone who came to discuss anarchism. Zheng Peigang quickly became chief disciple and assistant, and he assumed the duties of business manager and undertook whatever mundane jobs needed to be done. He also assisted in editing the publications, and then spent many hours packing and mailing the anthologies and other materials that the group produced.⁶⁹

Meanwhile, the woman comrades did the domestic tasks. Ding Xiangtian supervised, but Shifu's sisters proved able assistants. All were capable cooks and adapted to the group's vegetarian diet, which made full use of bean curd. Guests sometimes appeared on short notice, another reason to be adaptable.⁷⁰ Out of concern for cleanliness, plates were served individually, contrary to the usual Chinese practice of taking portions from a common serving bowl. Also according to Western style, the diners ate with knife and fork, and a tablecloth and napkins were used; the only exception was that a large pair of chopsticks was kept on the table to take second helpings.⁷¹ A clean, comfortable, and friendly atmosphere prevailed. While this basic division of labor was predictable, there is some irony in that these advocates of equal rights for women chose not to diverge from the usual genderized division of labor.

After a time, however, this division of labor was modified. Shifu's plan to publish his own journal was delayed because he and the other members of the group believed they should do all the work themselves. They could do this only if they got their own equipment, a printing press and binder, and this took many

months.⁷² That accomplished, all the members learned to do the various tasks involved in the printing process. Shifu's brothers and his four sisters became mainstays in the print shop, devoting entire days to this work when necessary. Presumably the kitchen chores were done minimally at these times.

Shifu's work habits and his personal relationships offer insights into his personality. Although he set out to establish a new kind of career, as propagandist, he retained the daily habits of a scholar, immersing himself for long hours in study and writing. He kept a strict schedule, going out only to attend Esperanto meetings. After the group began to publish the journal, his work as editor and chief writer occupied him completely, he would lock himself in his study, working until well past midnight.

This routine took its toll on Shifu's health. While his cross-town walks to Esperanto activities provided some regular exercise, his intense efforts reflected will, not robust health. He had suffered serious wounds in the assassination attempt in 1907, and he was vulnerable to tuberculosis, which ultimately caused his death.⁷³ Shifu was sensitive about the effect of his wounds on his appearance. His most obvious injury, of course, was his missing left hand.⁷⁴ At his office he wore a robe with ample sleeves that concealed this condition. When he went outside he dressed in Western-style clothes and wore an artificial hand, which he covered with a white glove.⁷⁵

To others, even his comrades, Shifu seemed a person set apart by his sense of mission. Although his comrades shared his principles and goals, none became so totally immersed in them as did Shifu himself. This difference between the leader and his followers is reflected in the nickname, "Mr. Earnest" (*Zhengjing Xiansheng*), which Lin Zhimian conceived and the others used for Shifu.⁷⁶ Even these closest associates were half-friends and half-disciples; they felt reverence rather than comradeship toward him.⁷⁷ One indication of the differences in attitude toward their commonly held principles is that some in the East Park group would ride by ricksha or sedan-chair across Guangzhou to consult with Shifu, then disembark at the end of narrow Cunshan East Street and walk to the Cock-Crow Center so it would appear that they had walked the entire distance.⁷⁸ Shifu would never have compromised on practicalities in this way.

Shifu's unwillingness to compromise on more serious issues marks his behavior in his relationship with Ding Xiangtian as at least perplexing, and perhaps tragic. Although they had shared an idyllic romance during the first half of 1912, their relationship began to deteriorate, apparently not long after they returned to Guangzhou. By this time Ding was pregnant. The prospect of the birth of a child to this anarchist love alliance should have been cause for rejoicing, but it was not. Shifu became preoccupied with his work and seems to have been neither affectionate nor supportive. Ding made no effort to conceal her condition, but she also never discussed it with others in the group. When the time came for delivery, she went to a hospital and gave birth to a daughter.⁷⁹

The child's presence further complicated the relationship between Shifu and Ding. Although they stayed together, there was never a renewal of the happy relationship they had shared earlier.

Ding was among the first to experience the new freedom for women that Shifu and many others had proclaimed. She had been involved in revolutionary activities alongside Shifu since 1906. She shared in his assassination work for an extended period ending in early 1912. With Liu she shared the euphoria of that springtime, the consummating period in their relationship. Perhaps neither could have anticipated what his commitment to anarchism would mean to the relationship. Ding surely anticipated a more usual pattern to their life after the return to Guangzhou, and certainly she expected more support in nurturing the child than Shifu ever offered. Still, she remained with him through the relocation to Macao and Shanghai, and through the final grim months of illness and poverty, even though he would not allow her to come into his sickroom. She left the group soon after his death, apparently out of concern that she and the child would be a burden on them rather than of a desire to dissociate herself from Shifu's comrades.⁸⁰ For Ding Xiangtian, liberation meant great self-sacrifice; for her, one truism remained from the past: the woman paid.

It is more difficult to understand why Shifu behaved as he did in the relationship. In discussing Shifu one must always consider his understanding of principles. As he had stated in his early pronouncements, he believed that children should be raised in public institutions: "we will make all children our own children." To him, it would have violated an important principle if the Cock-Crow Center had launched its first public nursery to care for his own child. As Mo Jipeng recalled the situation, Shifu would not allow the child to live at the Cock-Crow Center because to do so would be to confuse private life with public mission.⁸¹

By all appearances, Shifu failed to live up to his commitment. He might at least have offered emotional support for the mother and child. Perhaps he and Ding had discussed the eventualities if they produced a child, and he thought she understood how he would respond. In his own view, his commitment to his principles took precedence to any commitment he had made to Ding. Some would suggest that somehow Ding was not worthy of Shifu.⁸² If Shifu had not been satisfied, he could have ended the relationship earlier; as he did not, it would seem that only the pregnancy and the birth of the child could have changed his attitude toward Ding. Clearly the two people in this relationship reacted differently to this major event in their shared life. This may be seen as a tragic misunderstanding between them, or as a tragic feature in Shifu's principles.

The Cock-Crow Group's Rural Commune Project

By the spring of 1913 Shifu and his comrades were working on two major goals. The first, to buy printing equipment and begin publishing their own journal, was achieved by late summer. The second, to launch a rural commune in the Pearl River Delta area, did not move forward successfully before it was halted by the vagaries of politics.³³ Clearly this project was part of Shifu's initial vision of what the group should accomplish. Probably he hoped to emulate the kinds of intensive enterprises described by Kropotkin in *Fields, Factories, and Workshops*, which would have been efficient, limited in scale, and capable of combining agriculture and industry.³⁴ Interestingly, much of the economic activity in the Delta area—and elsewhere in China, for that matter—could have matched well with the principles Kropotkin laid out.

For several months the group had looked at possible sites for a commune, but for various reasons none proved feasible.³⁵ By summertime they had found a place that seemed ideal, at Red Lichee Bay (*Hongli wan*) in Xin'an xian on the east side of the Delta. The tract featured a precipice overlooking the shore, where a number of small hills supported hundreds of lichee trees, along with many other kinds of fruits and flowers. About a hundred mou of paddy field lay below, providing for more essential production. The Cock-Crow group were elated at the prospects for the place; they took the owner back with them to Guangzhou and entertained him while they attempted to work out financing for the project. At that point the fateful events of the Second Revolution intervened, and the dream of establishing a rural commune ended abruptly.

This plan for a rural commune is an intriguing might-have-been in Shifu's career. Perhaps it was just as well that it did not work out, as the group's efforts could easily have been wasted. Success could have been as counterproductive as failure in that it might have diverted them from a sense of immediacy about their mission: self-sufficiency might have led to self-containment. However, had Shifu and his comrades gone to Red Lichee Bay, their anarchism might have developed a rural orientation and eventually fostered a peasant-based revolution. Instead, the loss of this opportunity became one further setback for the group in late 1913.

Launching the *Cock-Crow Record*

From early 1913 Shifu planned to establish a journal of his own, which would be called *Cock-Crow Record*.³⁶ But Shifu and his associates had decided that they should do all the work of producing the journal themselves. To them it was essential that they should not pay someone else to do the physical labor to present the principles of anarchism. Besides the expense involved, it took time

to set up a print shop and bindery. Thus, it was late summer before they were ready to publish.⁸⁷

Political events had moved quickly during this same period. The Guangdong provincial government had been among the more progressive of the post-revolutionary administrations, and even those who had jockeyed with each other for control agreed on the larger goal of resisting Yuan Shikai. Yuan had removed Hu Hanmin as governor and replaced him with Chen Jiongming on June 14. Rather than accede to Yuan's wishes, however, Chen continued Hu's policies. So in early July, Yuan appointed Long Jiguang as military governor, authorizing him to take Guangzhou by force. By mid-August Long's troops were poised to take control of the city.⁸⁸

Seeing that the environment of tolerance he had been enjoying would soon be terminated, Shifu hurried to publish the first issue of *Cock-Crow Record*, which was dated August 20. A second issue, dated a week later, was produced before the group had to flee the city. Most of the content of these first two issues reflected Shifu's intense interest in China's current political crisis, both in Guangzhou and elsewhere. Like all others resisting Yuan, Shifu detested the strongman. But as an anarchist, he was even more concerned with the inadequacy of all political systems; to him the current crisis was a profound demonstration of the need for anarchism. Yuan's actions to destroy the other two socialist parties drew a sympathetic discussion from Shifu and occasioned a review of the brief history of contemporary Chinese socialism. In these first issues Shifu also stated his grievances against the *New Century* anarchists, some of whom had held office or otherwise served in government since their return to China. These remained persistent themes in *Voice of the People* after Shifu's forced exit from Guangzhou.

As Shifu stated in his "Editor's Preface," however, the chief purpose of *Cock-Crow Record* was to present anarchist principles as a true and positive basis for organizing society.⁸⁹ He characterized the Cock-Crow Society as a small group who studied and discussed important social questions. The group had launched the journal because of their desire to offer to others the ideas they thought were valuable. While their effort was modest, the group took truth (*zhenli*) as their standard; thus, Shifu hoped, what they wrote would have good effects. Shifu also explained the journal's alternate title, *Voice of the Common People* (*Pingmin zhi sheng*), which appeared just below the banner in these first two issues.⁹⁰ The group wished to speak directly to ordinary people, whom they sought to mobilize for social revolution. A briefer version of this name would be used for the journal following the group's departure from Guangzhou.

Shifu then listed the goals of the revolution advocated by the Cock-Crow Society: communism, labor unionism, opposition to militarism, to religion, to the family; vegetarianism, language unity, and world community. These were familiar watchwords to those who had read the earlier Cock-Crow publications, and most would receive further discussion in later issues of the journal. In this

initial statement Shifu noted his intention to emphasize both science and Esperanto.⁹¹ An Esperanto supplement of four pages was produced with most issues, and the journal often printed Esperanto terms alongside their Chinese equivalents.⁹² Shifu later became so much involved in efforts to counter opposing views of socialism that he did not deliver as much news of science or other features as he originally intended. Still, the journal was packed with information as well as disputation in its modest space. It was approximately five by eight inches and sixteen pages long (twelve in Chinese, four in Esperanto) except for a very few of its issues.

Shifu followed his editor's remarks with "A Simple Explanation of Anarchism," an exposition of anarchist principles.⁹³ Man's life is essentially simple, he began, but the systems of authority that have developed in societies pervert these basic pursuits and should therefore be abolished. Government and wealth have become the controlling powers in society; their strength is multifarious and mutually reinforcing, usually so by design. Law is a tool of authority; the crimes from which law claims to protect people are actually caused by the unfair distribution of wealth, which leaves many people in poverty. The wealthy have a vested interest in keeping the system as it is. Their control of resources enables them to exploit the labor of ordinary people. It also accounts for the spiritually debilitating idea that work is degrading, and for similar notions that create a false sense of values. All these problems, Shifu asserts, display the perverse nature of the present political and economic system.

The introduction of anarchism would eradicate this system and its evils. Government would be replaced by people's voluntary self-regulation as they pursued essential tasks. Removal of governments and nations would eliminate the need for armies, and the effort wasted on military production could be used to provide well-being for all. With the elimination of the propertied class, production would become a cooperative venture to which all would contribute. Anarchist productivity would provide enough for all, yet allow everyone to enjoy the leisure that, at present, only the wealthy could afford. Anarchism could become the basis of a rational and efficient world community.

Shifu then developed his argument by posing questions that doubters might ask about the solutions offered by anarchists. One of these issues concerned the role of education in correcting the problems of the current social system. Shifu noted that other anarchists believed that the lack of education was the reason for the failure of morality (*daode zhi bu liang*). But the problem lay elsewhere, Shifu asserted:

They do not know that the failure of morality is due to the vileness of society, and this vileness of society is due to the existence of government. With the countless evils of government eliminated, human morality would soon return to its essential beauty. We do not need to wait forever for education to permeate society.⁹⁴

In this view Shifu expressed disagreement with such senior anarchists as Wu Zhihui and Cai Yuanpei, whose efforts would focus on educational projects. Shifu opposed neither learning, nor schools, nor study abroad, as already shown. His point here was that social revolution did not depend on the development of people's minds, but on changes in their consciousness and behavior.

Shifu also addressed a political issue of concern to some who might otherwise have found anarchism appealing. What would happen if the people of a country accepted all that he had suggested and adopted anarchism; wouldn't they soon face attack from a neighboring nation? No, he replied: People think this way out of habit. But the people themselves are able to thwart aggression. To support this claim, he cited the experience of the French people, who in 1793 threw off their enemies but who in 1808 were themselves driven out by the Spanish when, as members of Napoleon's army, they had become the aggressors.⁹⁵ Not only can the common people resist their genuine enemies, proclaimed Shifu, they can also overthrow their own government, and because anarchism knows no national boundaries, a worldwide people's revolution was possible.⁹⁶ Shifu expressed this view repeatedly in his essays. While this point was basic to anarchist theory, to Shifu it was also one of the most important issues of immediate political importance. It opposed the dominant view among Chinese patriots, and the strategic decision of Sun Zhongshan in yielding the presidency to Yuan Shikai, that national security should be the key issue. For Shifu, anarchist principles had direct relevance to this major political issue.

Thus, Shifu concluded, he had shown that anarchism is not just a theory, but that it is capable of practical realization. In this first of his many expositions of anarchism in the journal, he displayed great enthusiasm for the principles of anarchism as developed in the West. His grasp of those principles was thorough, even profound, but he remained naive, and for the contradictions of the present system, he substituted some of his own. However, to most of his readers, who either agreed with him already or at least were open to new ideas, anarchism offered solutions to the problems that plagued China. The old social system preserved countless forms of human bondage; peasants, laborers, and women were trapped in degradation, with little hope for improvement under traditional arrangements. On a different plane, anarchist solutions appealed to a people long subject to the rapaciousness of imperialism. A worldwide people's revolution could end the domination of the Western powers and preserve cherished values.

Having presented his goals for the journal and an outline of the appeal of anarchism, Shifu offered a brief analysis of the immediate political crisis that had spurred the Cock-Crow group to begin publication. In "The Armed Struggle of Politics," he presented the anarchist position regarding the anti-Yuan movement, which was already being defeated.⁹⁷ Shifu believed that the effort to remove Yuan Shikai was irrelevant to the most important goals of revolution:

"If Yuan is expelled, the disaster of war might end soon; but this does not mean people will be free if Yuan is driven out. In all ages which have government, the people are without true freedom."⁹⁸ To Shifu the idea of representative government was false, and neither the structure nor those who were supposed to represent the people of the Republic of China could respond adequately to the current crisis: "If the national assembly truly represents the people, it ought to find a way to impeach Yuan Shikai and force him out of office, in order to avoid disaster to the people. Thus far, we have not heard of this."⁹⁹ The only meaningful choice, he said, was to undertake social revolution, which opposed all government.

Shifu's opinions had no effect, of course, in removing either Yuan or the evils of government. Neither did the efforts of a variety of other people, however. Sun Zhongshan and Liang Qichao in turn accepted agreements with Yuan; both believed their cooperation with him would advance republican principles. Sun's agreement deteriorated into the Second Revolution. Liang Qichao then accepted a leading role for his Progressive Party (*Jinbu Dang*) but by late summer 1914 he began organizing opposition to Yuan's effort to restore the monarchy.¹⁰⁰

Yuan Shikai also destroyed the two socialist parties of the early Republic, as already described. Shifu wrote of these developments in his lead article, "The Government and the Socialist Parties," for the second issue of *Cock-Crow Record*.¹⁰¹ Outraged by the execution of Chen Yilong only weeks earlier, Shifu condemned Yuan's actions against the two parties. Yuan's pretext had been that Chen was planning violence toward the government. His alleged guilt had been transferred to the party as a whole, and this became the basis for Yuan's order breaking up the party. Shifu noted Yuan's statement that China's socialist parties "cannot be compared with socialist parties in civilized countries, which only study theory."¹⁰² Shifu ridiculed this statement, observing that Yuan understood neither the political systems nor the work of socialist parties in civilized countries, and further, that Yuan's action made China a laughing-stock in any civilized country. Shifu appended a lengthy note reviewing the history of the Chinese Socialist Party and the Socialist Party.¹⁰³ He intended that his readers understand developments within China's fledgling socialist movement and the positions of the several groups within it. While in this first discussion he wrote sympathetically of the plight of fellow socialists, even here he pointed out some of his disagreements with them, a recurrent theme in later issues of *Voice of the People*.

Shifu's second major concern in the second issue of his journal was the behavior of the Paris group of anarchists, some of whom had accepted offices in the Republican government. They had meant to reaffirm their belief in anarchism by establishing such groups as the Society to Advance Morality and the Six-No's Society, but then had become involved in the political system. Shifu was primarily concerned with Zhang Ji, who had been elected to the

senate and then accepted the position of speaker in that body, and Wu Zihui, who had taken an active role in the Guomindang. Shifu had written to both men earlier to question these activities. Wu had replied, but had not responded to the issues Shifu had raised. Because he regarded this as a matter of general concern, Shifu now published his "Second Letter to Wu Zihui."¹⁰⁴ He quoted a statement from an item on Zhang Ji in the *Shanghai People's Stand* (*Minli bao*): "Since the revolution, Zhang believes that anarchism is not appropriate for present-day China."¹⁰⁵ Surely, Shifu exclaimed, these words could not have been Zhang's! Only a few years previously Zhang and the other members of the Paris group had regarded anarchism as suitable for any country, and for China most of all. If they did not believe that now, they could not be regarded as anarchists.

Given the immediate circumstances, it is difficult to understand why Shifu would have bothered to set forth his disagreements with anyone, especially with those who were in basic agreement with him. Still, his willingness to challenge his allies reflected principles already ingrained in his own thinking: authorities with guns and armies were ultimately irrelevant, but all who cared about socialism should be drawn into discussions about the proper basis for a new society in China and throughout the world. He understood that anarchism would not be implemented soon in China, but compromise by those who sought to lead could only delay that vital transformation. Shifu's question was basic: What had happened to the commitment made by the senior anarchists? Had their return to China made them think it was impossible to establish those principles in a society without political experience and modern technology? Despite their avowed opposition to power, were these returned anarchists attracted to power as represented by the institutions of the new Republic?

It is not difficult to see the logic of the *New Century* anarchists' behavior. Their return home brought them back to difficult realities, in both political and everyday terms. In choosing to work within a fragile new system, these senior anarchists were expressing the view that this system needed all the help it could get. They had also commenced their own projects to advance the cause of anarchism. Because of his own commitment, Shifu insisted that the new government could be better than the old only in that China no longer had an emperor.

The senior anarchists reacted to the new political order more predictably than did Shifu. In part their behavior reflected some basic dilemmas in early modern Chinese politics. One was the relationship between power and intellectuals. Jiang Kanghu had sought Yuan Shikai's recognition of his Chinese Socialist Party, apparently believing that approval of the head of state would provide the best opportunity for his principles. Sun Zhongshan and Liang Qichao in turn also undertook to ally with Yuan. This issue lies at the boundary between a traditionalistic form of patronage and a modern politics based on give-and-take and practicing "the art of the possible," although all who sought change quickly

learned that little was possible with Yuan Shikai. Another dilemma concerned public service, the question of how those with talent should serve the new system. There were few if any good options for progressives, even as the Republican period began.

Shifu's point was that the senior anarchists had taken a stand against all politics, and they should stick to their position. He had long been concerned with another familiar problem, inconsistency between stated principles and behavior. The behavior of the *New Century* anarchists in 1913 was the beginning of a record whose later pages would find them serving as the "grand old men" of Jiang Jieshi's Guomindang, which came to epitomize the kind of authority they claimed to despise.¹⁰⁶ In contrast, Shifu knew clearly where he stood on this issue in 1913, and he was prepared to pay the price of his conviction.

Flight from Guangzhou

Shifu would return to the themes of these first two issues of his journal, but even these questions so important to him now became secondary. Long Jiguang's arrival in Guangzhou made it impossible for the Cock-Crow group to remain in the city. As Shifu later wrote from Macao, "In that time of disaster the *Cock-Crow Record*, organ of our anarchist group, had not been published twenty days when Long Jiguang halted publication." Long also conducted an investigation of the group and threatened them with arrest.¹⁰⁷ There was no alternative but to flee, and during September Shifu and the other members of the group went to Hong Kong. Zheng Peigang and Huang Zunsheng stayed behind to salvage as much as possible of the group's possessions from Cunshan East Street and East Park. They hastily packed the printing press, type, and other items, and joined their comrades.¹⁰⁸ Shifu and the group decided that conditions in Macao were as good as could be found, and with little delay they found a place to live in the Portuguese colony, which adjoined Xiangshan xian.¹⁰⁹

Two more issues of the journal were published while the group lived in Macao, using the new title *Voice of the People* (*Min sheng*). They hoped that the mail service would connect them to a nationwide readership. As they soon learned, however, the mail was not completely reliable.¹¹⁰ The contents of the two Macao issues of *Voice of the People*, dated December 20 and 27, 1913, consist mostly of information on anarchists, Esperantists, and other socialist groups active in many different nations, and of notes on the correspondence received by the journal. Shifu's purposes in presenting this material were to educate his readers and to create in them a feeling of comradeship with like-minded people in other parts of the world.¹¹¹ These expressions of support from distant comrades clearly encouraged Shifu and his comrades. They felt certain that readers too would find strength in the knowledge that the basis existed for the worldwide people's revolution that Shifu described.

By the time the fourth issue was published he had decided to relocate again, in the freer atmosphere of Shanghai.¹¹² Since October a Shanghai anarchist, Xu Anzhen, had been visiting the group in Macao, and at his suggestion Shifu decided to make the move.¹¹³ Meanwhile, the ever-present representatives of Yuan Shikai's central government and Long Jiguang's provincial government maintained their pressure. Li Yuanhong, governor of Hubei, ordered that copies of *Voice of the People* sent through the mail be opened for inspection, and then declared that they contained subversive material and must be prohibited. Li Kaishen, governor of Guangdong under Long, met with the Portuguese consul and insisted that Shifu be extradited.¹¹⁴ Xu returned to Shanghai to find a residence for Shifu and his group. Zheng Peigang then went to Shanghai to make further preparations. Shifu and the others followed in February 1914.¹¹⁵

Shifu wrote a final defiant statement, "We Are Marching On!", to open the second of the issues published at Macao.¹¹⁶ Again he sought to encourage all those whom he and others had attracted to anarchism, and to let them—and the authorities—know that he intended to remain active. He reviewed the actions taken against his group by the authorities, from Yuan Shikai on down.

When their cruelty increases by one degree, our strength must increase one degree, and the people's feeling of hatred for government also grow by one more degree. Thus the time for anarchism is not far off.... Long live anarchism! We are marching on!¹¹⁷

Shifu's activity in Guangzhou had begun with great optimism in summer 1912. At this point, when the new politics ranged from frustrating to futile, Shifu chose to see beyond politics to a great social revolution, which it was his mission to proclaim. He and his friends took the first steps to spread the truth which they believed would set that revolution in motion. His own personal exemplification of this truth seems complete except for the tragic turn in his relationship with Ding Xiangtian. Despite this flaw, there were significant achievements: propaganda work and the Esperanto activities had attracted a following, and the Cock-Crow Center had gotten its own printing press and begun to publish its journal. Then the political failure of the Republic brought those measures from the hated authorities that sent Shifu and his comrades looking for a new base of operations. His defiance of those authorities must stand as one of his finest hours. In the face of a capricious authority, his fist raised in defiance, Shifu proclaimed, "We are marching on!"

Chapter 8

Renewal at Shanghai: The Culmination of Shifu's Career

Prompted by desperation, Shifu's move to Shanghai nevertheless brought new opportunities. At Shanghai he could remain in China yet stay out of Yuan Shikai's reach. In encouraging Shifu to relocate to Shanghai, Xu Anzhen extended a broader welcome than his own. Socialist Party activists and others welcomed Shifu; a number of them joined his new Shanghai organization, the Society of Anarchist-Communist Comrades (*Wuzhengfu-Gongchan Zhuyi Tongzhi She*). Shifu resumed publication of *Voice of the People* and now renewed his attacks on Sun Zhongshan and Jiang Kanghu and their piecemeal versions of socialism. Shifu's relocation also brought some change in his presentation of anarchism; his last writings suggest a closer orientation to workers.

Whatever further evolution Shifu's views might have undergone, he would live only a year after he and his friends settled in Shanghai. *Voice of the People* enjoyed uninterrupted weekly publication from spring through autumn of 1914. Then the outbreak of war in Europe curtailed the solidarity of the international anarchist movement that had strengthened Shifu's morale. Near the end of 1914 his health broke, and in March 1915 he succumbed to tuberculosis. For years he had stalked a sacrificial death, and now it came to him.

Relocation and Its Consequences

The quarters Xu Anzhen found for Shifu's group were located in the southern suburbs of Shanghai in an area called Leshan, which was only sparsely settled at the time. The group's building was new, never before lived in. It was a good place to carry on work that was best done underground, even in

Shanghai. When publication of *Voice of the People* was resumed, a Tokyo address was used to confuse the authorities. The group also rented a box at the American post office in Shanghai, to add another layer of deception. These ruses appear to have been effective; only trusted allies, some of whom came from abroad, visited Shifu in Shanghai.

These details come from an account prepared in 1963 by Zheng Peigang, who had married Shifu's sister Wudeng and by now had become Shifu's chief assistant. Zheng and the four sisters accompanied Shifu to Shanghai.¹ However, neither of Shifu's co-founders of the Conscience Society, Zheng Bi'an nor Mo Jipeng, went to Shanghai at this point. Zheng Bi'an apparently became totally disillusioned over the conditions in Yuan Shikai's Republic of China and emigrated to North America, where he remained for more than twenty years, first living in Canada and later in New York City.² Mo Jipeng took this opportunity, finally, to go abroad for a period of study; he went to Japan, but rejoined Shifu in Shanghai after about six months. It may be that Xu Anzhen, arriving in Macao with new enthusiasm, displaced Mo and Zheng Bi'an as Shifu's mainstay. The behavior of Zheng and Mo at this point again throws Shifu's profound sense of mission into high relief. Their enthusiasm had waned, but Shifu felt driven to continue.

Shifu felt a tangible support from comrades abroad. Mo Jipeng reports that Emma Goldman wrote to encourage Shifu and his group, and that Goldman's partner Alexander Berkman visited them in Shanghai.³ Solidarity in East Asia was demonstrated in summer 1914 when the young Japanese anarchist and Esperantist Yamaga Taiji appeared at Shifu's hideaway. Shifu had written to Osugi Sakae, who by this time was Japan's most influential anarchist, to report his relocation.⁴ Yamaga, an assistant to Osugi, had traveled to Dalian on other business, and there he received Osugi's request to visit Shifu and his comrades in Shanghai. Sixty years later, Yamaga recalled the precautions the group had taken before escorting him to their headquarters. Even though he had Osugi's letter of introduction, he was asked for identification. Lacking documentation, Yamaga produced a copy of Kotoku Shusui's translation of Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread*. Yamaga was then led to the headquarters, site of the group's "secret print shop," where he met Shifu. He recalled the group's size as between fifteen and twenty people, "seven or eight women and ten men." Yamaga stayed several weeks and joined in the group's activities, communicating in Esperanto but resorting to written Chinese characters when necessary. When he departed in late summer, he recalled, the group's financial resources were already stretched.⁵

The Shanghai headquarters became a gathering place for all who assisted with the publication of *Voice of the People* and the group's other activities. Besides those already mentioned in the nucleus of Shifu's organization in Guangzhou, others who spent at least some time in Shanghai include Lin Junfu, Pan Dawei, and Lin Zhimian. Liang Bingxian was in Shanghai for a time before

returning to Southeast Asia, and as usual, contributed to the journal. Huang Zunsheng also remained with the group and worked for the journal. Xu Anzhen remained active in Shanghai, but the more familiar figure of Taixu from the Socialist Party faithful, also visited often.⁶ This band of anarchists brought together an impressive quality of talent and courage. That Taixu and other Jiangnan anarchists of the Socialist Party were prepared to support Shifu testifies to the power of his appeal.

A New Statement of Principles

The content of *Voice of the People* during the five-month period of its publication in 1914 reflected Shifu's major concerns in presenting anarchism. Slightly less than half the content of issues 5 through 22 (the last edited by Shifu) was devoted to straightforward exposition of anarchism, mainly as presented by Kropotkin and interpreted for China by Shifu. This material included translations, historical and contemporary information about anarchism in Europe, biographies of noted European anarchists, and essays by Shifu. Although Shifu's essays comprise only about a quarter of the material in these issues, his views on many subjects were presented in his replies to correspondents, which accounted for another one-quarter of the journal's content during this period. Shifu used many of these replies to criticize opponents.⁷ In various forms a significant share of the total space, a bit less than a fourth, of the content of these issues was devoted to criticism of other socialists.

By July 1914 Shifu had issued new statements on the basic principles of anarchism in launching the Society of Anarchist-Communist Comrades. In the Society's "Proclamation" and "Statement of Goals and Methods," Shifu presented an outline of theory and practice.⁸ This new attempt to bring China's anarchists together coincided with the crisis that within a month would bring war in Europe, lending it a certain pathos. In personal terms as well, Shifu was approaching the physical breakdown that would end his life. These basic statements thus offer a summation of Shifu's anarchism and constitute an appropriate starting point for its discussion.

The Society's "Proclamation" began

As of July 1914, the Society of Anarchist-Communist Comrades is established in Shanghai; having held our general meeting, we make this proclamation to the masses: What is anarchist communism?

We advocate wiping out the capitalist system and rebuilding as a communist society, without the involvement of government. To put it simply, we seek absolute freedom in economic and political life.⁹

The capitalist system was the greatest enemy of the people, the proclamation continued, and the source of all evil in society. All resources for production—land, capital, and machinery—were concentrated in the hands of a few landlords and capitalists, the people were industrial slaves, and all benefits went to the propertied minority. Anarchists meant to bring an end to these despicable conditions, to eradicate the right of private property, and to return all means of production to society. Basing their actions on the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" (*ge jin suo neng, ge qu suo xu*), the Society declared its intention to organize a free, communist society.

The proclamation described the differences between the present society and that envisioned by the anarchists:

As "anarchism" takes opposition to authority as its essential principle, our party will completely eradicate and sweep away all the evil authoritarian systems of the present society, and on the basis of the true spirit of freedom, equality, and brotherly love, we will reach our ideal society—without landlords, capitalists, leaders, officials, representatives, or heads of families; without armies, prisons, policemen, courts, or law; without religion and without the marriage system. At that time society will have only freedom, the great principle of mutual aid, and the joy and prosperity of labor.¹⁰

Only revolution, here explained as any kind of activity that displayed the spirit of revolution, relied on the strength of the people, and made war against authority, could bring about the anarchist-communist society.

The proclamation then reiterated Shifu's positions on several other questions. Anarchism represented the inevitable result of social progress, which accorded with the development of science. Thus, no one could say that anarchists sought some ideal world that had no basis in reality. Rather, in the anarchist society people would be free and would govern themselves; they would use this spirit of independence to implement the great principle of mutual aid (*huzhu zhi da dao*). There need be no concern about disorder if anarchism were introduced; as the anarchist movement was an international movement, the Chinese people should not fear intervention by a foreign nation. Anarchists oppose private property and capitalists, Shifu said, but the fact that China had relatively few big capitalists need not impede anarchism: "The view that China does not yet have big capitalists and thus social revolution is not urgent, need not hold us back."¹¹ This rejects the Marxist view of development by stages while suggesting Sun Zhongshan's hope of avoiding the traumas of social dislocation resulting from industrialization. Shifu related this point to a broader question, whether anarchism could be implemented when morality was not sufficiently developed. This question would be resolved by the interrelationship of individual and society: "To reform society is also to reform the individual. Ultimate assurance lay in a more basic principle: "Anarchism is the underlying

pattern of mankind's natural life, the essential path of social progress, and the inevitable trend of the twentieth century.¹²

Shifu concluded the proclamation with calls for unity addressed to Chinese anarchists and to all members of the worldwide anarchist movement. To his Chinese comrades he said:

The implementation of anarchist communism depends on the strength of our party. If we wish to increase our party's strength, uniting as a whole body and advancing together is our most important task today. Wherever they are, all our comrades should unite with those who share the same purposes and establish groups in free association.¹³

Shifu suggested parenthetically that local groups form either as secret bodies or as study societies until a single united organization for all of China could be worked out. Meanwhile, he invited local organizers to use the Shanghai center to communicate with other groups.

Addressing anarchists of other countries, Shifu expressed his belief that unity was also the tendency in the international movement. He invited comrades from abroad to correspond with the Shanghai center when they wished to make contacts, share news, or exchange ideas with Chinese members of the movement. The new Society of Anarchist-Communist Comrades was eager to assume the responsibility of communications agent for all Chinese anarchists.

"Let us march on! Long live anarchism!"¹⁴ Shifu closed the proclamation with this rallying cry, followed by the society's address, the postal box in Shanghai. However, even his suggestions for building a united anarchist organization in China reflected the great obstacles to that goal. If local cells had to organize secretly or disguise themselves as study societies, it would be difficult to build an effective nationwide organization of anarchists. Yet anarchism gave Shifu his vision of a better future, which he insisted could be achieved.

Shifu made more specific statements of his anarchist program in "The Goals and Methods of the Anarchist-Communist Party." He listed fourteen objectives, which would establish the society envisioned in anarchist theory. These goals could be reached through a combination of four methods, which he also described. Further comments sought to explain away the most common doubts regarding this great project. This was a comprehensive view of social reconstruction, ranging from production and distribution of goods to marriage, child rearing, and education.¹⁵ The points are best presented in Shifu's own words:

1. All the important items of production—land, mines, factories, farming tools, machinery, etc.—will be taken back and returned to the common ownership of society; the right of private property will be eradicated, and money will be abolished.

2. All the important items of production are things common to society; and those involved in production may use them freely.¹⁶
3. No classes of capitalist and laborer; everyone should engage in labor.... Each person recognizing what he is suited for and able to do, will work freely without oppression or limitation.¹⁷
4. The products of labor—food, clothing, housing, and everything else that is useful—are all the common possessions of society [*shehui gongwu*]. Everyone may use them freely, and everyone will enjoy all wealth in common.
5. No government whatsoever. Whether central or local, all government organizations will be abolished.
6. No armies, police, or jails.
7. No laws or rules.
8. All kinds of public associations [*gonghui*] will be organized freely in order to reform all kinds of work and manage all aspects of production so that we may provide for the masses of people. (For example, those adept at farming can unite with their comrades and organize an agricultural society, and those adept at mining can organize a mining society.) These public associations will range from the simple to the complex. [They] will be organized by laborers in a particular kind of work, and there will be no leaders and no managers.... In these societies there will be no statutes or regulations to restrict people's freedom.
9. The marriage system will be abolished; men and women will unite freely. The offspring will be cared for together in public hospitals. The sons and daughters born will receive care in public nurseries.
10. All the youth will go to school and receive an education from the age of six through the age of twenty or twenty-five. Both males and females should attain to the highest level of learning.¹⁸
11. Both men and women will devote themselves to labor after completing their education until the age of forty-five or fifty. After this they will retire to a public old people's home. All who are sick or have other health problems will be examined and treated in a public hospital.
12. All religion and creeds [*xintiao*] will be abolished. In morality people will be free, with no duties or restrictions; this will allow the natural morality of "mutual aid" to develop freely to its fulfillment.
13. Each person will work two to four hours at most every day. In the remaining time each day people will be free to study science in order to help with the progress of society. For recreation they may pursue the fine arts and the practical arts in order to develop their individual physical and mental powers.
14. In schools and education we will select a suitable international language so that the different languages and literatures of each nation will gradually be eliminated, and the far and near, the east and west, will have no boundaries at all.

Shifu continued by outlining the methods for reaching these goals. As he had said repeatedly, he regarded propaganda as the first method. Through newspapers, books and pamphlets, lectures, and schools, he said, the teachings of anarchism must be taken to the common people:

[I]t is essential that a majority of the people¹⁹ understand the promise and fullness of our principles and the beauty of social organization in the future, and that they know that labor is man's natural duty and mutual aid his inherent virtue.

Shifu then described a second category of methods, resistance by nonviolent and violent means, which he regarded as a more intense form of propaganda. "Resistance"—Shifu's term for nonviolent means—might be directed against taxation or military service; it could also include strikes at workplaces and general strikes. "Disturbances" included assassination and other forms of political violence. Once propaganda reached the appropriate level, the "great revolution of the people" (*pingmin da geming*) could take place as the third step toward launching the anarchist society. The masses would overthrow the government and the capitalists and begin to rebuild society.

Shifu listed the "great world revolution" (*shijie da geming*) as his fourth method. Here he presented his view of China's role in the worldwide people's revolution. His purpose was to strengthen his admonition to his Chinese comrades to do their utmost in the task of propaganda. It was incorrect, he asserted, to speak of revolution only in terms of individual countries, for "the great people's revolution is a great world revolution."²⁰ As the present was still the "period of propaganda" (*chuanbo shidai*), it was the duty of comrades everywhere to do as much as they could to prepare for the revolution by using the first two methods. Shifu now expanded the scenario for revolution to a worldwide scale and presented another aspect of his idea of the great world revolution:

When the opportunity is ripe, the great world revolution will most likely start in Europe, perhaps in France, Germany, England, Spain, Italy, Russia, or some other country. When propaganda has spread fully, one day an incident will set it off—perhaps in several countries together, or in a single country first, with others hearing about it and responding.²¹

This response would not end in Europe, however:

Labor unions will strike, armies will mutiny, and the European governments will fall one after another; our people in North and South America and in Asia will also rise in rapid succession. The speed of its success will be astonishing.²²

It was the anticipated speed of this reverberating world revolution that made the propaganda task urgent in China.

In China today, nothing is more important than to catch up, devoting our utmost effort to propaganda in order to prevent the possibility that a day would come when that incident would occur in Europe, but propaganda in the East would not be ripe; that would hold back the world's progress.²³

It had only been sixty years since anarchism had appeared in Europe, he said, and only forty years since the period of propaganda had begun there. In the past decade anarchism had advanced with great speed. Except for the capitalists, everyone in Europe was a laborer, and labor activity in recent years represented the incipient stage of general revolution there. The European governments relied on conscript armies to support themselves, but the troops also were members of the working class. Thus, the day of revolution was not far off, and although China lagged behind, with an appropriate effort China's anarchists could be ready in a shorter time than had been required in Europe:

[I]f we East Asian comrades will bring together our plans and our strength and sacrifice for twenty years...we can assure that our doctrines will spread across the East Asian continent incredibly faster than in Europe.... The period of realization is within sight; it is not just an unreachable ideal.²⁴

Shifu attributed a transformative power to anarchist principles, which he understood as absolute truth. He assumed that if only people have the opportunity to hear these truths, they will accept them. Perhaps Shifu repeated his truths so often and so forcefully because he understood that one aspect of successful propaganda is simply to repeat the basic message with conviction. But Shifu never seems to present his ideas merely for propaganda purposes; rather he retains a fresh (and indeed, naive) enthusiasm for his truths. Part of the explanation for this quality in Shifu's propaganda might lie in the knowledge-and-action question. If knowledge is difficult and action is easy, then the masses may act as soon as they hear the truth of anarchism. Part of the explanation also might be found in a feature of Chinese rhetoric that does indeed attach importance to repeated restatement of significant ideas in a standard, set format.²⁵ Shifu's insistence on correct concepts and terminology certainly may be seen as an effort to develop such a format.

Another aspect of Shifu's message here is that events in China are bound closely to events in the rest of the world. In this, he was as consistent as anyone of his generation. Like others, he saw China as lagging behind the West; but for him the question was not whether China could take its place alongside the Western countries in the "great people's revolution." His solution was to rally his Chinese comrades to communicate their great principles to the masses in their own country.

Shifu's Attacks on Sun Zhongshan and Jiang Kanghu

As he resumed publication of *Voice of the People*, Shifu was preoccupied with reducing the influence of Sun Zhongshan and Jiang Kanghu on the socialist movement. He resented the flourishing national reputations of both men, which had given them an advantage in propagating their versions of socialism. It is significant that neither Sun nor Jiang claimed to be recommending anarchism, but rather socialism, something much broader. While Shifu criticized them for misrepresenting socialism, and was correct in his charges, he too obscured matters by claiming the whole territory of socialism for anarchism. What most irritated Shifu was that his two rivals had chosen pieces of socialist doctrine that they found appealing, without developing either a good grasp of socialist theory or a consistent formulation of their own ideas. Neither Sun nor Jiang called for social revolution, which to Shifu was the sine qua non for a new order in China. Moreover Sun, like his former Tongmenghui supporters who had governed Guangdong in 1912-13, espoused state socialism and sought thereby to avoid social revolution.

Shifu summed up his concerns about Sun and Jiang by observing that both had claimed to present socialism to the Chinese people, yet neither offered a genuine socialism.

Socialism is just beginning to sprout in China, and accurate statements are extremely rare. Our people are limited to acknowledging these two men's theories as the model for socialism. They do not know that erroneous belief in Sun's views would give us nationalized industry and the single-tax on land as socialism, or that erroneous belief in Jiang's theories would give us the return of inherited wealth to the public as the spirit of communism, and free enterprise and private wealth as the emphasis in socialism. And the truth of socialism would vanish. This would be a disaster for the future of socialism. If I am to shed light on socialism and defend its ideas, how can I fail to speak out?²⁶

Shifu included both his rivals in a combined attack entitled "The Socialism of Sun Yatsen and Jiang Kanghu."²⁷ To explain why Sun and Jiang should not be regarded as China's spokesmen for socialism, Shifu defined socialism and outlined the groupings among its followers. All socialists agreed that the means of production and the goods produced should be for the common use and benefit and that there should be no landlords or capitalists. But there was disagreement on the issue of distribution, he said, and this had given rise to two main branches within the socialist movement—communism and collectivism. Shifu stated his opposition to collectivism because it would retain private property and would reward people according to their work rather than their need.

Shifu then presented the contrast between his view of revolution and that of Sun and Jiang. His two rivals proposed nothing more than to use the power of

government to implement social policies (*shehui zhengce*), which would be only a substitute for socialism. They sought only political revolution (*zhengzhi geming*), carried out by a few leaders, whom Shifu called "political revolutionaries" (*zhengzhi gemingjia*). In Shifu's view meaningful change could be achieved only through social revolution (*shehui geming*), carried out by the common people (*pingmin*), and occurring only when the common people understood the problems facing their society.

Sun had declared his support for collectivism. Shifu pointed out. In his talks to Jiang Kanghu's Chinese Socialist Party, Sun had called communism the "Greater Vehicle" (*shangcheng*)²⁸ of socialism, but stated his preference for collectivism because "our people's morality is not yet well-developed." Sun had gone on to praise Marx, Shifu observed, indicating his preference for collectivism. Because Sun featured Henry George's single-tax theory in his version of socialism. Sun had labeled his views "single-tax socialism" (*danshui shehui zhuyi*). He had told Jiang's socialists that although George's and Marx's theories appeared to be different, in actuality they complemented each other and should be carried forward together. Shifu said he saw no way to combine single-tax socialism and collectivism, and explained Sun's error thus: "It is because Sun mistakes social policies for socialism, and also mistakes what state socialism calls the task of nationalization as the socialization of capital."²⁹

Shifu then quoted Marx's explanation of how capital is developed, which stated that only when the means of production are used to exploit workers can it be said that capital exists. Shifu continued:

What is meant by the socialization of capital is that the means of production are placed directly in the hands of the workers. Thus the power of capital has no way to be manifested. If the state controls industry, this still uses the means of production to take wealth from the workers, and the power of wealth still benefits the privileged. To have the two [Marx and George] running along together as he does, and to say that railroads and profits from everything should be controlled by the state, and to see this as the solution to the problem of capital—this is clear evidence that Sun does not understand the meaning of "capital."³⁰

Ridiculing Sun's plan for nationalized railroad development, Shifu asked if the similar plans of the Manchu government and the current government should also be called socialism. "What Sun calls socialism is no more than government-owned industry and a single-tax on land—nothing more than two kinds of social policy; where is the socialism in this?"³¹ Shifu's insistence on the purest standards for socialism kept him from crediting Sun with an attempt to develop a workable form of socialism for China.³²

Shifu attacked Sun only once after this, in response to a letter from his old friend Xie Yingbo.³³ Xie had stated his opinion that Shifu should have participated in the Second Revolution to remove Yuan Shikai. In response, Shifu

pointed out that even if Yuan were replaced by Sun and Huang Xing, China still would not have a genuine republic. He again attacked Sun for his methods and his personal style. Sun knew only the method of violent uprisings, Shifu said, which made it virtually certain that even more violence would occur; furthermore,

if the affair succeeds, he becomes president; if it fails, he escapes abroad, acting like a rich uncle, playing chess, writing, and frolicking with women to pass months and years in Japan or the exotic islands, with the flesh and blood of our hundreds of millions of common people hanging in the balance.³⁵

Others shared Shifu's feelings about Sun's diversions abroad.³⁶ Shifu's break with Sun, and even with his old friend Xie Yingbo, was complete.

Sun was indeed abroad attempting to reorganize his party when Shifu published this attack. Shifu regarded Jiang Kanglu, with his claim to a half million supporters, as the greater threat to socialism. Jiang had accorded Shifu recognition by responding to him, whereas Sun, who had other more immediate concerns, ignored him. Jiang too was abroad by this time, but he maintained correspondence with party members in which he regularly expressed his disagreements with Shifu.

For Shifu, to correct Jiang was to educate groping socialists in the true way. Shifu had many grievances against Jiang. Jiang's socialism was marked by muddling of basic concepts and by attempts to blend socialism with capitalism. Implied in all of Shifu's attacks was that, whatever Jiang genuinely believed, he lacked the courage to stand by his convictions.

Jiang had begun an essay, Shifu noted, by stating that communism was the essence of socialism, and that no other form of socialism was so desirable as communism. He admired the slogan "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," which in his opinion represented the essence of communism. But Jiang had then expressed doubt about the usefulness of the slogan, because (he believed) there would be people who would take as they needed but do little to help with production. Like Sun, Jiang had conceded his fear that most people had not yet attained the level of morality necessary to make the principle work. Shifu questioned how Jiang could claim to represent his preferred form of socialism when his own statements in a single essay were so contradictory.³⁷

Shifu also criticized Jiang for muddling the various forms of socialism. Jiang had made communism the general category and ascribed various branches to it. He had differentiated between these branches according to their positions regarding movable goods (*dongchan*) and immovable goods (*budongchan*, by which Jiang presumably meant what is termed "real estate" in the United States).³⁸ Jiang also had set up a distinction between equal distributionism (*junchan zhuyi*) and collectivism (*jichan zhuyi*). He had not recognized that the form of socialism advocating that movable goods be held privately and

immovable goods be held in common, was actually collectivism. Shifu then quoted from a lecture that Jiang had given in the United States: "Equal distributionism and collectivism are not the most admirable ways, but I fear it will be impossible to see communism suddenly implemented." To this Shifu replied, "He has set all the schools of socialism in a row and toppled them."³⁸

Shifu continued to attack Jiang in almost every issue of *Voice of the People* during May, June, and July 1914. In his "Reply to Li Jinxiang," he responded to a letter from one of Jiang's supporters with a statement opposing the capitalistic spirit that he believed characterized Jiang's views. His next major attack was provoked by remarks against him in one of Jiang's "Postcards from the New Continent," a series of communications Jiang sent to his supporters after relocating in California. Shifu's response, "Refuting Jiang Kanghu," contains his most bitter personal remarks against Jiang. The last extensive statement, "The Anarchism of Jiang Kanghu," was limited to theoretical issues and not at all personal.³⁹

In these articles Shifu repeatedly charged that Jiang could not be considered a socialist because he did not seek to abolish private wealth or the private enterprise that generates it.⁴⁰ Jiang had attempted to reconcile his belief in the need for socialism with the Social Darwinist doctrine of struggle for existence. In seeking to use the spirit of self-aggrandizement to advance socialism, Jiang proposed that individuals be allowed to earn as much wealth as they could. By removing the right of inheritance, Jiang hoped to benefit society as a whole. This approach was not direct enough, in Shifu's opinion, and further, it opposed the true spirit of socialism. Shifu pointed out that Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid disproved Darwin and the social theories of struggle attributed to his views.⁴¹ Jiang's error, said Shifu, lay in his belief that "individual struggle is the mother of progress." Jiang had confused the spirit of communism with that of capitalism, Shifu concluded, and he did not know one from the other.

Shifu also found Jiang wanting in his understanding of anarchism. Jiang did indeed claim to support some of the principles of anarchism; earlier in his career he had coined the term "Three-No-ism" (*san wu zhuyi*) to represent opposition to the state, the family, and religion.⁴² Shifu noted that Jiang had continued to set forth these three points as the basic purposes of anarchism. But Shifu was much more disturbed by Jiang's ignorance of the salient features of anarchism, especially of the principle of free association. Jiang had said he disagreed with anarchism's selective use of authority and its denial of organization.⁴³ Both these charges were erroneous, Shifu responded, and needed full discussion. This was his purpose in "The Anarchism of Jiang Kanghu."

Shifu opened this response by asserting that Jiang must have confused authority with violence. He traced the development of the Chinese term for authority (*qiangquan*), and defined it as any form of power constituted in law or accepted by society. Authority is the antonym of freedom, Shifu asserted; it represented everything that anarchism resisted. He noted that some anarchists

were prepared to use armed power to resist the force of government and/or of capitalists. If Jiang opposed violence, Shifu argued, he could say that he opposed the method propounded by anarchists of this kind; however, he should by no means mistake revolutionary violence with authority. Responding to Jiang's perception that anarchists reject organization in society, Shifu quoted Tolstoy to emphasize that anarchists reject organization under authority but seek free organization.⁴⁴ Here again he described free association as he had in his "Goals and Methods" statement to emphasize that anarchists oppose not organization in itself but the *nature* of most organizations.⁴⁵ Shifu concluded by noting that Jiang would eliminate government from its military and tax-collection activities but retain its role in education, agriculture, industry, and commerce. This was not anarchism, in Shifu's opinion.⁴⁶

More than once during the course of these exchanges, Jiang criticized Shifu for his lack of enthusiasm in cooperating with other socialists. Shifu quoted one such statement:

Jiang says: "To advocate anarchism and consistently attack socialism is the common failing of the anarchist party people in every country. To attack socialism and call their own [principles] socialism, and then to say that socialism is not socialism—this is the peculiarity of the Chinese anarchist party people."⁴⁷

Here Jiang struck at Shifu's single most important flaw. In linking this to anarchists in every country, Jiang referred to the record of enmity between anarchists and Marxists since 1871, viewing that record from a Marxist point of view. In responding, Shifu reiterated his points that "social policy" and state socialism were not socialism; he associated both with Marxist socialism, which he unremittingly opposed. According to Shifu, Jiang could propound such muddled views only because his grasp of the history of socialism was so weak. He justified his own obstinacy with the argument that an inconsistent or half-way socialism was meaningless. This disagreement was critical in the rivalry between Shifu and Jiang, as it had been between the Socialist Party and Jiang.

Shifu's superior understanding of the history of socialism in Europe served him well in this debate with Jiang Kanghu. Their debate displays some features of this period of social and political transition in China. Both Shifu and Jiang wrote in a style with more literary than colloquial touches and directed their arguments to an audience equipped to understand this language. Because Shifu found it difficult to repress his disdain for Jiang's ignorance of socialist doctrine, at times this debate resembles the mutual railleries of scholars more than disputation between modern ideologues. Yet as Shifu insisted, these were issues of substance, which in fact anticipated debates in the subsequent development of Chinese socialism.

Shifu's disdain of Jiang also involved issues of personal character. He criticized Jiang for equivocating about the nature of his movement at his meeting

with Yuan Shikai in summer 1912.⁴⁸ Sun had registered the Guomindang as a political movement, forthrightly declaring the party's moderate state-socialist principles. Shifu contrasted Jiang's response to Sun's; in his meeting with Yuan, Jiang had renounced political objectives and claimed that the party was concerned only with education.⁴⁹

Some of Jiang's former allies also found him lacking in character. Shifu printed a statement by Ye Niufang, formerly chairman of the Nanchang branch of the Chinese Socialist Party, to show that some of Jiang's former supporters regarded him as an opportunist. Jiang's departure for the United States following Yuan Shikai's crackdown in 1913 made it appear that he was less than totally committed to his principles.⁵⁰ As Ye's testimony suggests, the dedication Shifu showed by remaining in China made his leadership attractive to many who had belonged to Jiang's party.

In a July issue of *Voice of the People*, Shifu noted that Jiang's organization at Berkeley, the Society of Socialist Comrades (*Shehui Zhuyi Tongzhi Hui*), had dispersed, and that Jiang had ceased his "Postcard" series. Furthermore, an Anarchist Study Society (*Wuzhengfu Zhuyi Yanjiu Hui*) of approximately twenty members had been organized at Berkeley.⁵¹ Shifu took these developments as signs that Jiang's influence was waning.

The State Socialism Issue and the Image of Marx

For Shifu, the shadow of Marx loomed in Jiang Kanghu's (and Sun Zhongshan's) advocacy of state socialism and social policy. Shifu's opposition to state socialism was manifested in virtually all his discussions of anarchism; it lay at the heart of his differences with Jiang and Sun. This was a major subject in "Refuting Jiang Kanghu." Responding to some of Shifu's previous criticisms of Marx, Jiang had stated, "It is impossible to say that there could have been socialism without Marx, just as it is impossible to say that there could have been Confucianism without Confucius."⁵² Jiang also regarded anarchism as indistinct from Marx's socialist movement until Bakunin's split with Marx in 1871.

Before the split between Bakunin and Marx, anarchism was merged with socialism. After the split the anarchist party developed the term anarchism, and because the name of socialism was associated solely with Marx, after this the anarchist party refused to call their principles socialism.⁵³

In responding, Shifu presented his own view of the history of socialism in nineteenth-century Europe. To begin with, he pointed out that modern socialism had had several important advocates before Marx, and he named Babeuf, Fourier, and Blanc. Without denying Marx's contributions, Shifu noted that these rested on the work of his predecessors. There also had been an indepen-

dent anarchist movement, Shifu correctly asserted. Before Bakunin there was Proudhon; had Proudhon's anarchism been closely linked with Marx's socialism?

Shifu then noted that Bakunin had built his own organizations, the Roman Federation and the Jura Federation, before he joined the International Working-men's Association in 1868, which by that time was dominated by Marx. The two men and their organizations had coexisted in the International until 1871, when serious disagreements developed, and then in 1872 they had split and gone their separate ways. "This was not unity," Shifu averred, "how could it be called merger?" Responding to Jiang's claim that the anarchists had refused to be called socialists because that term was associated with Marx, Shifu said, "Marx alone was a collectivist. Communism was most definitely what the anarchists advocated; how could the term socialism be associated only with Marx?" Shifu then pointed out that Kropotkin had specifically rejected collectivism, and had described anarchism as "a socialism that would abolish government."⁵⁴

Before the disagreements developed between Marx and the anarchists, Shifu said, no distinction had been made between the terms communism and collectivism. Because of these differences, however, Bakunin had chosen to call *his own views* collectivism (this "collectivist" position had been developing over several years before the split between anarchists and Marxists).⁵⁵

Today, there is no one who doesn't know the definitions of the two terms, and from them we can explain it thus: what Marx called communism is actually today's collectivism, and what Bakunin called collectivism is actually today's communism. You can see that what Marx called communism is only an historical term (thus today all who differentiate among the branches regard Marx's as the collectivist branch). The error in Jiang's lack of clarity about the schools is not that he regards Marx's as communism, but that he lays out the theories of communism and collectivism together and calls them communism.⁵⁶

Shifu was correct in his statements about the differences between Bakunin and Marx and about changes in the terminology of socialism.⁵⁷ Yet he might have accepted Jiang's original point, at least to acknowledge that Marx also had a right to the term communist.

Like many of the terms he used regularly, "communism" and "collectivism" were highly charged words for Shifu. Marx had anticipated that the state would continue to function after the revolution, and then would wither away. All anarchists had feared this idea of perpetuating state authority, which they believed should be removed in the revolution. This "collective" approach of the Marxists also would have left control of some property in private hands. Thus, the issue of private property also became basic for anarchists, including Shifu. Kropotkin envisioned a thorough expropriation of all forms of property,

including the productive facilities (or "means of production" in Marxist terminology), from private control, and believed that property should be vested in the community, or "commune," rather than the individual.⁵⁸ Further, he believed that the notion of property would disappear; for him, it was property that would wither away. Thus, while it is not always clear what kind of property Shifu means, he accepted Kropotkin's position on this issue, and he sometimes seemed to suggest that the individual cannot claim to own even the clothes he or she is wearing. For us today it seems unthinkable that as individuals we may not own books or television sets or cars. For Kropotkin in 1880 or Shifu in 1914, the perspective was quite different: in this point they meant to emphasize not the removal of personal possessions from ordinary people, but rather that such possessions *should be available* to ordinary people from the great store of property hoarded by those with wealth and power.

For Shifu, anarchism or anarchist communism stood on one side of a great divide, and collectivism, state socialism, or social policy stood on the other. His unbending position on the importance of this divide represented in part his sense of sharing in the tradition of anarchists in the West. Control of the international workers' movement had been at stake in the split of 1871; issues arising in that split account for most of the acrimony in the history of the relationship between the anarchists and the Marxists. Bakunin himself had attempted to organize a new anarchist "International" immediately after the split, but his effort soon came to nothing.⁵⁹ Another attempt by the anarchists in 1881 also failed to produce a lasting organizational structure. Marxists were even slower to resume efforts at international organization.⁶⁰ Finally in 1889 the Second International began its activities, which by the early 1890s were dominated by Marxist leaders and theory. The anarchists actively sought to be admitted to the organization's congresses in 1891 and 1893, but they were refused both times.⁶¹ By the 1890s, anarchists urged workers not to vote, while Marxists began to acclimate to the political systems in which their parties operated; to them, voting was essential. This was the position of the Social Democratic Party in Germany under the guidance of Engels himself. So the differences between the two movements remained strong. If Marxists in Europe were not exactly the perverted socialists that Shifu accused them of being, he was correct in calling them state socialists and criticizing them as non-revolutionary. There was no international congress of anarchists again until 1907, when new stimulus came from the syndicalist movement in France.⁶²

This revival of the international movement surely contributed to Shifu's sense that anarchism represented a revolutionary tide that Chinese followers needed to join. It is clear from his writings that he understood thoroughly all that had led to the parting of the ways in 1871. Less evidence is available to indicate the level of Shifu's knowledge of developments between about 1880 and 1900. Shifu shared with his European anarchist comrades the outrage the latter felt against their former allies in the international socialist movement. This was

only strengthened by Shifu's belief that anarchists held to purer principles than did the Marxists. (Mao Zedong was not the first Chinese socialist to rail against revisionists from abroad who had allies within China.) Whatever gaps remained in Shifu's knowledge of the history of European socialism, he clearly sought to keep abreast of current developments there.

Most importantly, Shifu's positions must be considered in their Chinese context, where Sun and Jiang represented to him the forces of state socialism and much more. While Shifu saw his anarchist principles as closely related to the worldwide movement, when he broke with Sun Zhongshan in the spring of 1912 he had asserted his belief that only social revolution was relevant to China's needs. Although the break with Sun at that point seems abrupt, the issue of the relationship between social revolution and political revolution had been a basic part of the discussion about change for the previous decade. Since the beginning of his career as a revolutionary, Shifu had made social revolution his chief concern. Also from that time, his view of social revolution had included a cultural element concerned with transforming values and behavior. Yet even the term *cultural revolution* does not adequately reflect Shifu's essential concern. As the national essence and Buddhist themes in his prison essays showed, he had believed, while en route to anarchism, that spiritual regeneration was necessary most of all for the elite, who should exemplify the principles that would energize the new China. The sham politics of the Republic had confirmed this belief. Shifu did not doubt his own capacity to uphold the highest values, of course. His self-righteousness was driven by his conviction that what China needed most were moral exemplars. Anarchism and the emphasis on social revolution also provided the means to universalize these lofty values in the sense of applying them to the masses as well as to the elite. All these themes, Shifu's entire set of beliefs about revolution in China, were bound up in his insistence on social revolution as opposed to political revolution or state socialism.

This divide between state socialism and anarchist communism was a key feature in Shifu's discussions of socialism.⁶³ To Shifu and other radical socialists of these years, the views of Sun and Jiang represented Marx's socialism. Marxism was state socialism; it represented only political revolution, which in Shifu's opinion would do almost nothing to achieve the change needed in Chinese society. The anarchist alternative was the only true course to progress and the good society. What most deserves emphasis here is that, as of the early 1910s, Chinese intellectuals had substantial knowledge of Marx and his ideas. Generally, what an individual knew depended on his preference for anarchism or for state socialism. To a great extent, however, Marx and Marxism were understood as Shifu presented them in his single-minded efforts to persuade his contemporaries to accept anarchist communism. As Shifu framed the issues, Marx became a state-monger and his theory the underpinnings for a vicious, retrogressive system. Thus, contrary to the common impression, during these years Chinese intellectuals did have substantial knowledge about Marx and

his principles. The Marx they knew was neither Marx the real human being who had fought Bakunin, nor Marx as he would be molded by Lenin and his associates. When that reshaped Marx was introduced to Chinese intellectuals after the Bolshevik Revolution, the next generation of Chinese anarchists would use against him the same arguments Shifu put forth repeatedly in his debates with Sun and Jiang.⁶⁴

The Dynamics and Effects of Revolution

Until his later years, Kropotkin envisioned a rapid transformation in people's behavior, which would in turn bring a rather direct transition to anarchism. Although Kropotkin's views did indeed change, much of what Shifu read of Kropotkin's works still presented this view of revolutionary transformation. This notion of spontaneous transformation struck Shifu with great power. It seemed to seal the profound human and scientific values he found in Kropotkin's anarchism. That the immanent should be imminent also resulted from the more specifically Chinese sources of Shifu's thinking: whether as Confucian moral exemplar or as bodhisattva, one's principles should have persuasive appeal and under the right circumstances also have instantaneous effect. While Shifu's own views also evolved, he retained a view of social transformation that looked to dramatic change once a critical mass of revolutionary consciousness had been achieved.

The social revolution would occur when society was permeated with the truth (*zhenli*), one of Shifu's favorite terms for the principles of anarchism. These principles were to be not so much learned as simply perceived; it was to be a change of consciousness rather than a collective advance in learning that would bring society to revolution. Believers were responsible for permeating society with this truth. This was the purpose of the propaganda effort. Shifu's belief in the importance of propaganda work led him to criticize comrades who lacked the courage of their convictions. What was necessary, he said, was to believe and to act on one's beliefs. "To know something and not to do it, is much worse than not to know."⁶⁵ Shifu cited China's revolution of 1911 as a good example on his point about generating a revolution, despite his total disagreement with its results. Before the revolution, he said, only the revolutionaries had believed that revolution was possible, and their persistence had made it happen. When it began, it had spread according to the pattern he anticipated for the social revolution; one province after another had responded, and revolution had reverberated throughout China.⁶⁶ In a surprising turn of thought, Shifu was willing to regard the revolution he envisioned as a continuation of a process begun in 1911. When one correspondent suggested that China would have a "Third Revolution"—counting the anti-Yuan movement of 1913 as the second—Shifu repeated this term in his response.⁶⁷

As a transformed collective consciousness would ultimately bring revolution, so also morality would be made new in anarchist society. This was a key point in all anarchist thought—for Kropotkin, for Wu Zihui, and also for Shifu. However, Shifu differed from Wu in two related points: While Wu and other anarchists such as Cai Yuanpei looked to education as the starting point for revolution, for Shifu it was this transformed consciousness that was critical. And where Wu assumed that improved individual morality was necessary to the building of a higher-quality moral life in society, Shifu emphasized the relationship between the moral levels of society and of the individual.

This view of morality reflected Shifu's optimistic view of human nature. A reader named Piaopiao wrote to ask "How will work assignments be determined after the revolution?" Some will carry hay, he wrote, but someone still will have to carry manure: how is it to be decided who will have to handle the stink of manure? Shifu responded that in the socialist society, people will compete to carry manure and to do other unpleasant jobs, because of their social consciousness.⁶⁸ However, Shifu continued, most such jobs would be done by machinery, which had already been developed in the West but was not used there because it provided no advantage to capitalists.

Shifu's "Goals and Methods" statement had outlined most of the basic features of the anarchist-communist society he envisioned. That statement addressed such issues as marriage, care for children and the elderly, education and work. It also set forth the principles on which organizations for production could be built. Shifu defended these principles in his critiques of the socialism of Sun Zhongshan and Jiang Kanghu. He had not addressed the question of housing, but he did so in reply to an inquiry from another reader. Shifu's response seems paraphrased from the chapter on "Dwellings" in Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread*. The homes and other property of the wealthy would no longer belong to them, Shifu said, and one part of the solution to the housing problem would be to relocate the poor in these places. Then those in the building trades would construct housing according to what was deemed necessary; the transition would require two to three years.⁶⁹ Shifu like Kropotkin regarded this redistribution of dwellings as a key to postrevolutionary development, as it must occur quickly and would involve sensitive feelings about property.

Although Shifu believed that social consciousness was more basic than education, in some of his responses to readers he suggested the outlines of the educational system he envisioned in the anarchist society. Some of his ideas on education make him appear rather more like other anarchists than previously suggested: he too regarded education and schools as important. He believed that private schools would be preferable to any schools that might be associated with government. These schools would teach "true science," not science as presented in schools organized by government. Shifu also urged that any schools organized by proponents of anarchism should provide equal educational opportunity for

girls. This was already the case in schools that wealthy families could afford, he observed, but he sought equal opportunity for girls from poor families as well as rich.⁷⁰ He admired the private schools of Europe and found positive models for his ideas for good schools in the overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia and the United States.⁷¹

Especially in his comments on education, Shifu moved from an ideological and programmatic statement of his ideas on a future anarchist society to a more practical and detailed approach. This was partly because some of these comments were made in response to letters from readers, whose specific questions required him to frame feasible ways and means to achieve revolutionary goals. These educational projects that he admired had depended on organization and the marshaling of resources within a community of interest. Perhaps Shifu saw the overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia as one form of natural community that Kropotkin took as the basic model in theorizing about anarchist principles.⁷² Shifu's comments on education suggest ways to apply anarchist principles in one form of community effort. On the one hand, these were basic goals shared by moderate socialists such as Sun Zhongshan and Jiang Kanghu, as well as by most progressives. They also were within the tradition of elite activity in meeting the needs of local education through joint effort. On the other hand, Shifu's recognition of these successful applications of principles he could claim as anarchist gave him a chance to suggest how anarchism could guide Chinese communities to constructive achievement during a time when political institution-building was feeble in the nation of China.

Shifu's efforts to conceive new institutions suggest another part of anarchism's role in this transitional period: With or without an imperial government, China faced the challenge of constructing an entire system of institutions to serve common needs and interests. This helps to explain how anarchists (and other reformers) could wax so enthusiastic about such projects as parks, nurseries, and homes for the elderly. Such institutions had been beneath the concerns of the imperial government, yet beyond the interests of the elite in most local places. Interest in such institutions was also inhibited by traditional assumptions that the family would meet these needs. In suggesting that concerned citizens attend to these common interests without drawing on the resources of government, anarchists were proposing great projects that would depend on a concerned elite who might mobilize the mass of common people newly involved in public life. Thus, at times Shifu sounds like a conservative Republican in the 1990s United States, and also like a traditional Chinese Confucianist. In all such efforts, he sought to rouse his fellow Chinese to a new sense of community that would involve all in society to accomplish worthwhile goals for the common good.

The End of a Brief Career

Despite Shifu's efforts to assure consistency in his presentation of anarchism, the second half of 1914—which would prove to be his last productive period—brought significant changes in his outlook and approach. During this period he showed an increasing interest in workers and workers' organizations. More importantly, the outbreak of war in Europe devastated Shifu; it forced him to question the strength of the anarchist movement abroad and even brought Kropotkin's views into question.

Although it seems clear that he himself never set out to organize labor unions, Shifu was among the first Chinese intellectuals to claim an identification with workers.⁷³ He was as earnest as ever when he wrote to Wuchen, a correspondent in Xiangshan, "You should know that I am a worker!" and pointed to all his efforts to produce *Min Sheng* in supporting his claim.⁷⁴ From our present perspective, Shifu's claim to be a worker seems exaggerated. Still, he must be recognized as having begun to bridge the gap between intellectuals and workers. Shifu's claim to be a worker suggests the nature of the revolution that had occurred in his own mind. Whatever he actually did to relate to workers, he did because he had begun to act on a basic theme that other anarchists, especially the Paris group, had set forth.

Shifu's comments on a strike that occurred in Shanghai reflected his growing interest in workers and the conditions of their lives. He included an account of the painters' strike of October and November 1914 in the next-to-last issue of *Min Sheng* produced before his death. A second and longer article, a commentary on the strike, appeared posthumously in the issue in which his comrades reported Shifu's death (May 5, 1915).⁷⁵ In the first report Shifu described how the workers had organized to demand a wage increase. The "capitalists" had balked but finally conceded when they realized that the workers would indeed strike. The workers then commenced a three-day victory celebration, complete with musicians "to express their thanks to the gods (it was laughable)."⁷⁶ However, when the time actually came to pay the increased wages, the bosses reneged on their agreement. So the workers launched a second strike, producing another agreement. But some of the workers already had become outraged. They organized demonstrations and broke out windows in a few shops. The police then intervened, making two arrests, and the workers retreated.⁷⁷

In the posthumous commentary, Shifu stated his view that the workers had not carried on an intelligent campaign and thus had not gained respect with the public. He was clearly disappointed with those on whom a people's revolution must depend. He found the causes of the workers' problems in their poverty and ignorance, which he said "revealed the evils of 'the capitalist system.'"⁷⁸ More important, this commentary contains Shifu's views on the purposes of labor organization. He urged that the unions set up their own offices and cease to operate out of offices located at company worksites associated with their

employers. Expenses could be covered by modest monthly dues, he said, and if there were not enough workers in one factory to meet expenses, workers in several places could organize groups to build an effective organization. He stated a key goal in the slogan, "Organize to seek knowledge."⁸⁰ The most urgent task for all such groups would be to establish people's schools (*pingmin xuexiao*). If enough funds remained after this activity was properly supported, each group should also publish a newspaper, and organizations in different cities should communicate with each other. Then, with workers' knowledge developed, their strength could grow: "this workers' organization can deal death to the capitalist system."⁸¹

Shifu also noted some positive developments in labor activity. The painters had been joined by at least some of the many carpenters and brickmasons groups in Shanghai. Workers in other trades, such as tailors and stovemakers, also made demands on management in this period of rising labor activity. While Shifu suggested ways by which workers' organizations could be strengthened, he appears to have overlooked some genuine achievements in these early unions.⁸²

The coming of war in August 1914 presented Shifu with another major test of his anarchist principles. As an anarchist, he saw it as logical that the bourgeoisie in Europe could allow their conflicts to deteriorate into war, which he assumed would be the greatest opportunity yet for anarchism to triumph in the societies of Europe.⁸³ What Shifu was not prepared for, however, was that anarchists in Europe would disagree among themselves, lose their internationalist solidarity, and choose sides in the conflict. Number 22 of *Voice of the People*, published during November 1914, was the last issue that Shifu edited; he devoted it solely to the war in Europe. The lead article was a translation of Kropotkin's views on the war's causes, which had been published only a few weeks previously in the British anarchist journal *Freedom*. Kropotkin saw the roots of the war in European international politics of the previous four decades, especially in the rise of Germany as a major power and the other powers' apprehension over this development. The coming of war, he said, was the logical result of the effort to contain Germany. Although perceptive, Kropotkin's analysis was not strongly ideological, and it left Shifu less than satisfied. Not only did Kropotkin fail to condemn the war, he expressed his support for the allied effort against Germany.⁸⁴

Shifu added his own note at the end of the translated article, explaining that the capitalists and the militarists were responsible for the war, and that their removal would bring an end to all war.⁸⁵ Shifu also included a translation of the Dutch Anarchist Party's declaration regarding the war, a statement expressing stubborn idealism like his own. Written by the priest Domela Nieuwenhuis, the Dutch anarchists' statement proclaimed their resistance to the war and urged all members of the oppressed classes not to obey the commands to participate.⁸⁶ Within months all but the most devoted anarchists in Europe

had yielded to nationalist impulses and pressures and joined in supporting their respective homelands in the war effort. The anarchist movement, like the Second International, fell victim to the war. The events and the responses to them by many of his European comrades came as a heavy blow to Shifu.

It is more than conceivable that Kropotkin's position on the war struck such a powerful psychological blow as to cause Shifu's health to break. To Shifu, Kropotkin had been more than a teacher; he had been a fount of wisdom and a paragon of anarchist virtue. Perhaps even the delay in publishing Number 22 of *Voice of the People* reflected some of the trauma that assailed Shifu at this time. Ultimately, this question must remain a matter for speculation. Other factors less dramatic but more directly debilitating would take his life within six months. His health did indeed break, and he entered his final battle against tuberculosis. Further, Shifu and his comrades had become impoverished by late 1914. Lack of funds might have been as important a factor as its editor's deteriorating health in the demise of *Voice of the People* at this time.⁸⁶ By January 1915 Shifu's health was failing rapidly. When his friends consulted with doctors in Shanghai at this time, the latter urged that Shifu enter a hospital for intensive treatment.

Shifu's admirers refer to two last illustrations of his devotion to principles even during these extreme circumstances. Sale of the group's printing press would have provided money to help pay for medical care. But Shifu regarded the press as a vital tool in the group's mission and refused to sell it. And when doctors advised that he adopt a meat diet to strengthen himself, Shifu also refused. Finally at the insistence of his closest friends, he did agree to be hospitalized; these same friends did their best to gather the necessary funds.⁸⁷ When medical help was obtained, it was the best available. Shifu was treated by a German doctor who ranked among the most respected in Shanghai.⁸⁸ The doctor decided to operate on Shifu, and three days later, March 27, 1915, began a second operation; but Shifu died before it was completed. The end had been grim indeed.⁸⁹

More than a month passed between Shifu's death and publication of Number 23 of *Voice of the People*, in which Shifu's passing was announced. A brief item on the last page of this issue quoted Shifu's own final statement, which recounted his mounting health crisis, the medical needs and the lack of money to meet them, and concluded,

Now *Voice of the People* is in danger, at the brink of death. My grief over *Voice of the People* is even greater than for my own sickness. If *Voice of the People* passes on, I will be doubly victimized by this untreatable disease, and Shifu and anarchism will be buried together in the yellow earth of China.⁹⁰

Shifu intended his statement to be dramatic; once again it expresses his sense of mission and of his role in the movement he had done so much to build. Indeed it is egotistical and melodramatic, but both these characteristics were essential to maintaining the level of devotion Shifu had given to his cause. In stating his

apprehension about *Voice of the People* he intended to inspire his comrades to continue publishing a journal that would present anarchist principles to the people of China as he himself had done.

On April 1 some fifty of Shifu's comrades and admirers gathered for a memorial service in Shanghai.⁹¹ About the same number attended a memorial held in Guangzhou on April 27, a month after his death; similar gatherings were held elsewhere. Shifu's body was interred on a hill beside West Lake, where his anarchist career had begun in the spring of 1912. His comrades' choice of this site again shows the significance they attached to the West Lake experience.⁹² Over the following decade other memorial gatherings would be held for Shifu, usually on the anniversary of his death.

Shifu's passing removed the central figure and leading spirit from the group he had organized. They stayed together and published the *Voice* at least sporadically for about a year and a half. After that time several of his closest followers continued their work on behalf of anarchism, contributing to the surge in anarchism's appeal during the New Culture years. Then in 1921 a reconstituted group of Shifu's supporters resumed publication of *Voice of the People*, this time as a response to the growing success of the rising communist movement, which in time would supplant the anarchists as the dominant force in Chinese socialism. All this activity attests to the power of Shifu's exemplary life in the immediate setting. Perhaps the rise of a notion of "Shifu-ism" (*Shifu zhuyi*) best suggests the impact of his career. These topics are discussed in the next two chapters.

Shifu's Anarchism: Some Final Comments on Theory and Practice

In this last period of approximately one year when Shifu shifted his activity to Shanghai, his effort on behalf of anarchism confirmed his role as China's most consistent and devoted anarchist leader. Even in the way he died, he strengthened his claim to this place. As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, throughout his career he had sought to die in a way as exemplary as the way he set out to live. Both his living and his dying displayed his efforts to construct the powerful moral example that he regarded as vital to his task.

For Shifu, anarchism as presented by Kropotkin had become a faith that united the ultimate in moral principle with science. Anarchism enabled Shifu to combine the moral burden he carried with the universal principles of modern science. As so much of Shifu's writing shows, he regarded a correct understanding of principles as vital. While his audience could not have been vast, it certainly included many of that broad group of intellectuals who had been attracted to socialism during the early Republican years. Thus, Shifu should be credited with bringing Chinese understanding of socialist principles more closely into line with those of European socialism. His anarchism called for social

revolution, which to him provided the key to transformation of the community and the individuals who comprise it. He ardently opposed mere political revolution, which explains his repeated attacks on Sun and Jiang. It also explains why Shifu linked Marxism to his two Chinese rivals and cast it as state socialism. Whether or not one agrees with this interpretation of Marxism, Shifu presented one version of Marxism to Chinese intellectuals during a period when we have assumed that no one in China was paying any attention at all to Marx.

Shifu's overriding concern was to provide an unfailing example of his principles. This concern is a key to Shifu's entire career, as both anti-Qing activist and then as anarchist. Certainly his sense of the role of a moral elite in society rested on his understanding of China's history, but his own experiences with failure and corruption among the elite made it immediately relevant for him to demonstrate incorruptibility. As evident at times in this discussion of his activities, Shifu's consciousness of belonging to a moral elite introduced some limitations. His self-righteousness caused him to emphasize differences rather than similarities with rivals such as Sun and Jiang. And his efforts to reach out to workers remained limited by his decision to present his ideas in a literary rather than colloquial writing style. In other ways these limitations emerge as part of Shifu's implicit assumptions about leadership. As his final testament suggests, the same devotion that made him influential, one may even say that made him great, also gave him that notion of indispensability. He had been the center of his movement, had consciously made himself its center.

Shifu's behavior also illustrates the point discussed in chapter 2 that the leader is the one who knows, whose followers should attend to and act on his insights. Whatever limitations might have flowed from Shifu's perception of himself as a moral exemplar, in emphasizing the need for uprightness he had fixed on an issue of vital importance. Shifu had developed a mission for the elite whose role in the old order of Chinese society had been formally terminated with the elimination of the official examinations in 1905. He experienced the banal corruption of the elite in the dying days of the imperial system and witnessed the ease with which many in this social group resorted to the easy path of influence in the flawed transitions of the early Republic. Corruption among the elite has resurfaced at many points in China's long revolution. In today's China the problem of elite corruption looms massive following the lapse in discipline that has accompanied Deng Xiaoping's policies of "opening and reform." Shifu's effort to making himself an incorruptible exemplar of his principles gives him contemporary relevance.

There were other blind spots in Shifu's outlook. While he repeatedly asserted the right to free expression before corrupt Qing officials or the new authoritarianism of Yuan Shikai, he was not an advocate of systematic individual rights or of a system to secure such rights. This issue also returns us to contemporary China, where today's authoritarian rule accepts only a limited form of citizens' rights despite stated intentions to establish both rights and the

legal means to ensure their viability. Shifu championed individual social and political freedom as an essential right and as a means to evolve a stronger and better community, but he suggested no means to support the exercise of freedoms in society. In this the example of European anarchism did not serve Shifu well. Beginning with Proudhon, European anarchists had disdained politics as a process through which constructive change might be accomplished. To them liberalism was no better than Marx's state socialism if it was clothed in the trappings of a state. Shifu likewise rejected politics; thus, his anarchism did not suggest any way to build through a great institutional gap in the Chinese polity. Did he assume that individuals with great moral insight would also possess the courage to assert their own freedom and inspire more ordinary people to do the same?

Chapter 9

Shifu's Legacy: Anarchism in the New Culture Years

In a 1927 edition of the anarchist journal *People's Bell* (*Min Zhong*), Wu Zihui observed that Shifu's passing had removed the spirit and impetus from the anarchist movement. While there was some truth to Wu's comment, the movement did not fade quickly after Shifu's death. Shifu's friends and supporters continued the group's work with some success until late 1916. Numbers 23 to 29 of *Voice of the People* reflect the nature of anarchist activity during the mid-1910s. Even the difficulties that led to the long pause in the journal's publication between late 1916 and spring 1921 did not bring a complete halt in the work of Zheng Peigang or other of Shifu's closest associates, who took up other related activities.

Devoted anarchists who continued their efforts on behalf of the movement and many idealistic younger intellectuals who became anarchists continued to revere Shifu. Shifu's reputation grew, and for some young idealists he became a cult figure. It was another of his achievements that he became one of the few figures besides Sun Zhongshan to be the subject of a mythmaking effort; his life and death both invited such an effort. A few of his admirers even called for the implementation of "Shifu-ism" (*Shifu zhuyi*). Among those who held great respect for Shifu was the young activist Mao Zedong.

Within six months after Shifu's death, Chen Duxiu began publishing *New Youth* (*Xin Qingnian*; originally simply *Qingnian*). This journal became the major stimulus for the New Culture movement, which pursued cultural themes before the events of spring 1919 and again focused attention on politics. *New*

Youth and the many other journals that used the word "new" in their titles often carried articles written by anarchists. But more broadly, a number of the themes they emphasized as part of the "new culture," especially women's rights, open relationships between men and women, and issues centering on the family, had been themes of anarchists and other social radicals of at least a decade earlier. These themes had been basic to Shifu's view of revolution, and he stands apart for the persistence and urgency of his efforts to advance them, raising them to a level of special importance to a new generation of Chinese youth.

Voice of the People after Shifu

No single editor emerged to replace Shifu. During May and June 1915, when Numbers 23 through 26 were published, Shifu's old friend Lin Junfu agreed to take on the task. Liang Bingxian then served as editor, assisted by Zheng Peigang. However, it was another six months before Number 27 appeared, suggesting the group's difficulties in continuing to publish the journal. Liang returned to Singapore in autumn 1915, not long after assuming the position of editor; he edited manuscripts there and sent them to Zheng in Shanghai to publish in the journal.¹ This arrangement obviously did not work well, as *Voice* appeared only sporadically, in February, September, and November 1916, when the group decided to suspend the journal indefinitely. Both Liang and Zheng, along with Sheng Guocheng, the latter a leader in the Esperanto movement, contributed to the journal during this period. Meanwhile, at the beginning of 1916 Sheng and Zheng collaborated to inaugurate *China Star* (*Hua Xing*), the first Chinese journal devoted exclusively to Esperanto. One of their major concerns was to oppose Yuan Shikai's latest effort to restore the monarchy. Twelve issues of this Esperanto journal were produced by late 1916 when the *Voice* group decided to suspend their own journal. With Zheng Peigang taking the lead, the group subsequently produced a number of pamphlets, including Shifu's "A Brief Introduction to Anarchism" and his anti-Jiang Kanghu essays, "Taming the Tiger."²

By early 1917 Zheng and his associates decided to cease all their publishing activity. Over the next several years, Zheng produced an intermittent newsletter, "A Record of Voice of the People Society Activities" (*Min Sheng She jishi lu*).³ Like Shifu, however, he did not give up the group's printing press; he stored it in the Zhabei area of Shanghai at the Jiangnan Chicken Farm, ready for a time when it could be used again.⁴ Soon afterward, Shifu's four younger sisters took jobs at a tobacco factory in Shanghai, and Zheng Peigang began serving as a crewman for a shipping company. The group members took these jobs "to make a living ... and to get into the labor movement."⁵ Thus, they appear to have done their utmost to work exclusively on behalf of the anarchist movement before economic hardship made it impossible to continue, and when they went

to work, they joined ordinary workers. If Shifu was not quite a worker, his closest associates went further in the transition from intellectual to worker. By spring 1917 Peigang stayed for a time at Beijing University, where with Huang Lingshuang, Yuan Zhenying, and others, he helped to organize the Truth Society (*Shi she*). Zheng printed the group's *Liberal Record* (*Shi she Ziyu Lu*) at Shanghai.⁵

Shifu's younger brother Shixin meanwhile had gone to Singapore with Liang Bingxian in autumn 1915. Liang had begun to publish *The Voice of Right* (*Zheng Sheng*) in Singapore during 1914. He also had translated pamphlets on the International Workers of the World (IWW, *Shijie Gonghui*). Liang and Shixin both taught in a school (*Yangzheng xuexiao*) apparently related to the propaganda effort Liang had begun in the colony.⁶ Liang built respect in the Chinese community, some members of whom in early 1918 supported his move to Shanghai to launch the Datong Bookstore, another publishing enterprise.⁷ There he and Shixin began publishing the journal *Labor* (*Laodong*), which was among the first Chinese journals to respond to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

Not surprisingly, the strongly personal tone that had characterized *Voice of the People* during Shifu's lifetime changed under his successors. The latter continued to spread the anarchist gospel with translations from Kropotkin and other writers, and to present the lives and careers of anarchist leaders abroad, such as Tolstoy and Kotoku Shusui.⁸ However, the anti-war theme that Shifu had enunciated in the last issues under his editorship continued as the single strongest theme. Closely related was a second theme emphasizing China's relationship to the world people's revolution. A third major theme of the *Voice* during this period concerned the domestic politics of the Republic.

Best representative of the antiwar theme is the "Announcement of the Anarchist International," drawn up in early 1915 by Errico Malatesta, Emma Goldman, and Domela Nieuwenhuis.⁹ The war that had begun seven months earlier would be unprecedented in scope, the statement began, involving all the peoples of Europe and doing irreparable damage to their cultural life. Yet the war had been predictable, given the buildup of armaments that had continued over the previous half-century. All the great powers, on both sides, were presented as equally guilty: the authoritarian nature of all government stood as the underlying cause of this monstrous disaster. The war projected its evils upon colonial peoples as well: France had taken advantage of the situation to extend its control in Vietnam, Madagascar, and Malaga; and England had used troops from its colonies as substitutes for British lives. But the masses in all countries wanted peace, the statement continued; in time the opposition of ordinary people, including those serving in the armies, would end the war, and the anarchist revolution would then gain its opportunity. Thus, for anarchist revolutionaries (as for the Bolsheviks), the war exposed the weaknesses of the

current system. *Voice of the People* would present this message to Chinese intellectuals through this post-Shifu period of its life.

A writer identified only as "P.Y." related events around the world to those in China in the article "The Anarchist Party in a Period of Accomplishment" for the September 1916 issue.¹¹ P.Y. surveyed the effects of the war in many countries, again pursuing the point that the chaos of war presented a great opportunity for anarchists. The great coal strike in England hampered the war effort; in Spain railroad workers had upset the normal routine with their strike; and in Italy, the people were reluctant to support the government's war effort. Moving across the Atlantic in this survey, P.Y. noted that in the ongoing civil war in Mexico an anarchist faction with its own military force was involved.¹² The president of Argentina had been wounded in a pistol attack by an anarchist. In the United States, an anarchist had thrown a bomb during a military exercise. P.Y. seems to have been inspired by a letter from "a comrade in Australia"; the writer cited an Australian newspaper as the source for some of this information and passed on to readers the Australian's observation that farmers and workers in China closely resembled the ordinary people of Mexico who had become involved in the civil war. Although mostly illiterate, they could be a potent revolutionary force.

Shifu's successors continued "World Social Unrest" (*Wanguo shehui fengchao*), a section of *Voice* that also linked developments in China with events elsewhere in the world. Accounts of unrest in Britain and the United States were followed by reports of labor actions in China.¹³ Workers in the foundry industry in Shanghai had twice gone on strike, achieving success the second time. The *Voice*'s reporter linked the union of foundry workers to Xu Qiwen's Labor Party of 1912 (see chapter 6). This union arose in response to current challenges, as two workers took the lead in forming the organization that went on strike in Shanghai in 1916.

Summer 1916 had brought serious dislocations in the textile industry in Shanghai, as a 70 percent tax increase had forced many mills to shut down. Workers responded with a campaign that, as described in the *Voice*'s account, was very intelligent. They had held a planning session as they launched their effort and agreed first to make a written appeal to management seeking relief. If it became necessary to strike, the workers agreed to respect the law and remain united in seeking their goals. The strike ensued when the decision to close the mills was upheld. Hardship had resulted for a thousand male employees in the industry, and for "several tens of thousands" of female textile workers. The need for income had forced their eventual decision to return to work, *Voice* implied; but a new labor action seemed possible even as the report was written.¹⁴ In all these reports, the *Voice of the People* group sought to emphasize the possibilities of effective organization. Several of the reports suggest that workers were gaining in sophistication, especially as compared to the painters' strike of 1914, which had been the subject of Shifu's last essays.

The Esperantist Sheng Guocheng analyzed events in China in "Illegal Talk about Current Affairs," also in September 1916.¹⁵ Sheng surveyed the political developments of the early Republic, pointing out how government was nothing more than an exercise in power- and wealth-mongering for those who aspire to be emperor, for officials, militarists, "bandit parties" (*fei dang*), "notables" (*weiren*), and politicians (*zhengke*). Although well-intended, the efforts of Liang Qichao to resist Yuan Shikai's move to restore the imperial system are irrelevant, Sheng says. And the newspaper *People's Opinion* (*Minyi Bao*) also offers no help: "[They] should seek the people's opinion among workers and coolies, in fields and homes, and among those who have suffered difficulty."¹⁶ Neither the president, the assembly, the constitution, nor even the Republic itself have anything to do with the "little people" (*xiaomin*—here Sheng uses a different term from Shifu's *pingmin*).

"Revolution, revolution—what an unfortunate term!," Sheng continues. Here too he departs from Shifu's terminology, as Shifu had always distinguished social revolution, his objective, from political revolution. "If we trace things back to their sources, and then consider our painful recent history, we can see that revolution has its own truth and its own tricks [*shoujia*]."¹⁷ This is *political* revolution, and nothing more. Politicos make sure they will have an office in the system, and militarists assure they can form armies for their own protection. But the little people will only sacrifice and die.

Shifu's group did its best to carry on in the spirit that had marked Shifu's anarchism. There were modifications, at least one of which was positive: Shifu's followers became more directly involved in labor activity—as Shifu himself probably would have done had he lived longer. As the linkage of labor actions in China with those elsewhere in the world suggests, the internationalism of Shifu's group had a syndicalist flavor. As presented by Shifu's successors, the common people were urban workers. This same period was the high tide of the IWW in the United States, and the growing syndicalist bent might reflect that influence from abroad. For Shifu's followers the next logical step was to attempt to join workers and help them organize. If they felt some influence from the labor movement elsewhere in the world, that in itself indicates the accuracy of their perceptions as they carried on the effort.

Shifu's Broader Appeal and Shifu-ism

In China today, the name Shifu is known only among a few people with a strong interest in the nation's modern history. For more than a decade after his death, however, Shifu was widely remembered and attracted many idealistic young people to anarchism. As years passed, a number of anarchist journals published commemorative issues dedicated to Shifu. One of the first of these was published by *Evolution* (*Jinhua*) in March 1919. This journal itself constituted a memorial to Shifu, for it resulted from the merger of five anarchist

groups in early 1919, led by Huang Lingshuang and Ou Shengbai, both Guangzhou youth who had some involvement with Shifu's group.¹⁸ The reach of Shifu's influence also is shown in that the teenage Li Feigan, later Ba Jin the writer, had joined the Equity Society (*Jun she*) in his home city of Chengdu in 1919 or 1920. This group called their journal *Voice of the Common People* (*Pingmin zhi Sheng*), a title reminiscent of Shifu's journal, and they too published a commemorative issue to Shifu, probably in 1920.¹⁹ Then in 1927 *People's Bell* (*Min Zhong*) produced its commemorative issue. All these publications and much more in the anarchist movement of the New Culture-May Fourth years attest to the power of Shifu's personal appeal and his presentation of anarchist principles.

It might be seen as the ultimate tribute to Shifu that he became the focus of Shifu-ism. This adulation indicates Shifu's continuing appeal even a decade after his death, at a time when Marxism and Sun Zhongshan's Three People's Principles had developed as the major competing ideological viewpoints in China. This apotheosis appears to have come about within a few years after Shifu's death. *Evolution* published its memorial issue to Shifu in March 1919, presumably to coincide with the fourth anniversary of his death. For this special number Huang Lingshuang wrote the lead article, "Shifu-ism." "Shifu is our prior awakening, and we are his later consciousness.... His principles [*zhuyi*] are our principles."²⁰ Huang emphasized Shifu's devotion to science as universal truth: "All action must be measured by scientific truth, and all evil customs and inferior habits that are not in accord with science must be ended."²¹ While acknowledging Shifu's faith in science, Huang also noted that Shifu held all forms of authority as enemies of the common people, their well-being and freedom.

The commemorative issue by *People's Bell* in 1927 provides many comments on Shifu's enduring appeal.²² In his introduction Zheng Peigang (under the pen name Zheng Tie) observes that while anarchists admonish people not to worship idols, to commemorate Shifu was not the same thing that members of other political parties had done, nor was its object to seek office or wealth. Rather, anarchists revered Shifu as a revolutionary who had sacrificed his life for the common people and their benefit. Finally, Zheng said, there was no one in China besides Shifu who was worthy of the respect of anarchists.

In another tribute, "Sanmu" offered an unabashedly worshipful tribute to Shifu. Sanmu was the pen name of Li Shaoling, who by 1927 had been an anarchist for five years, but who also had joined the Guomindang in 1924 and served as a teacher of politics at the Huangpu Academy.²³ His experience deserves attention because it was shared by many young people of the 1910s. He began by recalling that he had first seen *Voice of the People* as a seventeen-year-old student at a normal school in Changsha (this would have been about 1915). A friend who attended school in Guangzhou had given him copies of *Voice* when he returned home for the winter holidays. After he had read some of the journal,

Sanmu continued, he and his friend had joked about "the monk who didn't eat meat or talk about women"; but he had been impressed by "the Shifu who could write an essay." After going to Guangzhou as a student at Guangdong University in 1922, Sanmu had become active in the anarchist movement. Through a friend he had gotten an invitation to the Liu family home, where he saw a portrait of Shifu, which had moved him to tears. And as he became more directly involved with the labor movement and learned more about its history, he had grown to appreciate even more what Shifu's career had meant.²⁴

Sanmu admonished his fellow anarchists to emulate Shifu in his many exemplary qualities: a spirit able to overcome difficulties; resolute strength; unflinching courage; a clear mind; an ability to throw oneself into work for the masses; breadth of ability. Then came his worshipful climax: if anarchists would develop these qualities, "Then we can advance step by step—we can publish collections of Shifu's writings; build Shifu schools; open Shifu parks; and implement Shifu-ism!"²⁵

Other contributors to this commemorative issue emphasized the moral quality of Shifu's life. Li Deshan observed that Shifu had remained faithful not only to the major points of anarchist doctrine, but also to such secondary issues as his vegetarianism. His morality in ordinary questions had set Shifu apart, Li said.

On the other hand, a labor movement leader who rides a sedan chair and curses the coolies if they lose the way, or an advocate of women's liberation who visits prostitutes, or a health expert who smokes opium—their words and their behavior are contradictory, and much juggling is required if they hope to achieve their goals.²⁶

Bi Xiushao (writing under his penname Zhentian) put this contrast between Shifu and later anarchists in similar terms:

Ah, Shifu ..., you had what we don't have, and didn't have what we have; what we have is a lack of effort, an inability to sacrifice and to make our principles a second life. What you had was totally the opposite of us. Ah, Shifu, you are gone! We who remain haven't progressed, and so our principles can't be planted in China's yellow earth! Ah, Shifu, how I regret that Heaven did not give you a longer life!²⁷

These statements show that Shifu succeeded in the mission he had conceived for himself. He had given an absolute devotion to his work. He was remembered for this, and his effort continued to attract others to anarchism. His insistence on squaring behavior with stated ideals would have served any movement well, and Shifu's message to later generations of Chinese leaders, so often tempted by hardship or the opportunity for wealth, has remained relevant.

Anarchism, Shifu, and the Early Mao Zedong

In the May Fourth era, Mao Zedong was among those attracted to Shifu's principles and leadership. Suggesting the possibilities for the study society he was organizing in Changsha, Mao wrote in 1919,

Over the past several years, the general situation in China has changed greatly. Cai Yuanpei, Jiang Kanghu, Wu Jingheng [Zhihui], Liu Shifu, Chen Duxiu, and others have taken the lead in reform. Reform theories are not limited to a single viewpoint.... Even such questions as whether we should have the nation or not, and the family, and marriage, and whether property should be private or public, everything is open to further study. Furthermore, the European war spilled over into the revolution in Russia, a great tide wrapping up everything, from west to east; and scholars at Beijing National University have welcomed this, and the youth of every marketplace and every school in the whole country have responded in a great voice. [With this tide now] reaching Hunan, the Able Study Society has been established.²⁸

Mao's inclusion of three anarchists among those who had stimulated reform activity leaves no question about the role of anarchism among intellectuals during this period. However, Shifu would have tried to explain to Mao why he and Jiang Kanghu should not have been placed together on any list.

In another essay of 1919, "A Great Union of the Masses," Mao's thinking and terminology strongly suggest that he had read widely in the work of Shifu and other anarchists.²⁹ He used several terms common among anarchists and used specifically by Shifu. *Qiangquan zhe* was used to lump together all who held power; Mao observed that in earlier times such organizations could be formed only by "those in authority." Opposed to the collective interest of these who held various forms of power were the *pingmin*, the term for common people generally used by Shifu and many other socialists. The concept of class division Mao presented in this essay was surprisingly simple, resembling the populist/anarchist view set forth by a number of Chinese publicists of the early years of the century (see Chapter 3) much more closely than the sophisticated concept that Mao would express in his 1926 essay on the peasant movement in Hunan. "Aristocrats, capitalists, and others with power [*qiangquan zhe*]" maintained their advantage over the interests of the common people through three sources of strength: knowledge, money, and armed strength (*zhishi*, *jinqian*, *wuli*).

The same essay shows that Mao understood Marxism and the division within socialism as presented by Shifu, although for Mao the labels were by now modified.³⁰ There were two divisions among socialists, he noted. One was "extreme," willing to do their utmost, by force if necessary, to transform society; "the leader of this group is Marx, who was born in Germany." The other division was "moderate," relying first on the awareness of the common

people as the basis for changing society. It would call upon the aristocracy and the capitalists simply to change their ways, and would not insist that they be executed—"the purposes of this group are broader and more far-sighted." Its leader was the Russian-born Kropotkin.³¹ Whatever else might be drawn from Mao's essay, it suggests Shifu's success in implanting a negative impression of Marx.

Mao also emphasized here that the many organizations formed since the late Qing years stood to refute the widely held opinion that Chinese people were incapable of organizing. He praised the Tongmenghui as an effective revolutionary organization and the Guomindang as China's first political party. Since the beginning of the Republic, he observed, most provinces had seen the launching of educational, commercial, and farmers' organizations, and of many other kinds of citizens' groups. Emphasizing positive developments of the early Republican years, Mao attributed this movement toward spontaneous organization to the opening (*kaifang*) of political and intellectual life that had occurred. Liberation (*jiefang*) was beginning to break out in thought, politics, the economy, man-woman relations, and education.

Because the Chinese people did indeed have the ability to organize, Mao concluded, "a golden world, a splendid world" lay before them. Mao's outline for building a great people's union seems inspired by Kropotkin, especially in his emphasis on people's innate capacity to organize for common purposes. This was one of Shifu's themes: he believed such organization would bring about the "great people's revolution" once a critical mass had been reached. Compared to Shifu, as of 1919 Mao Zedong seems optimistic instead of desperate, and already thinking like an organizer rather than as a theorist, emphasizing common concerns rather than fine points of doctrine.

Nothing more than extreme idealism and an ingrained resistance to bureaucratic form remained from these early anarchist influences in Mao's thinking after 1949.³² By that time Mao's ideals too often served to inflame high-level political infighting or mass struggle. During the Cultural Revolution, both idealism and disciplined organization became negative and produced destructiveness instead of order. As of 1919, however, Mao stood near the beginning of his career, and at that point his high principles and his awareness of the value of organization began to reinforce each other in generating Mao's strengths as a leader and much of the power in the movement he would build. At that time Shifu, along with Cai Yuanpei, Wu Zihui, and even Jiang Kanghu suggested both ideals and goals for revolutionary organizations. Mao said so himself.

Anarchism in the New Culture and May Fourth Periods

Mao Zedong's outlook in 1919 suggests the experience of an entire student generation, who like Mao received the influence of anarchism. It would be difficult to repeat too often that the cumulative effect of anarchist propaganda and activity over the previous decade gave rise to the New Culture movement of the 1910s. The early anarchists, especially the Paris group, called for cultural transformation with all the iconoclastic enthusiasm that any writer in *New Youth* would muster a decade later. Shifu was most insistent in presenting the themes of anarchist social revolution during the first years of the Republic. His writings focused the attention of many "new youth" on cultural issues as patterns of behavior. He had addressed the major social concerns that came under discussion during the New Culture period, from man-woman relations and the family to the problems of laborers. He anticipated the far-reaching effects of a "people's revolution" that would make the Chinese full participants in a worldwide socialist movement.

Shifu's diligence in writing and propagandizing took effect. He and his successors accomplished perhaps even more than they would have imagined. They had distributed thousands of copies of anarchist literature, from postcards to reprints of *New Century* materials, in addition to Shifu's own essays. Anarchist journals were being published in many cities by the mid-1910s, and anarchist ideas would be discussed in journals with no commitment to anarchism, including *New Youth* and many other of the "new" journals. Shifu himself had begun to address issues of labor organization in the last phase of his active period, and his followers actually began to organize workers. Thus, Shifu's influence reached beyond intellectual stimulus to the practical work of organizational activity. Although Shifu was not the only figure to espouse these causes or conceive of these forms of revolutionary activity, his devoted effort made his influence pervasive during the New Culture and May Fourth years.

Of the many themes in anarchist thought that entered into the milieu of the New Culture, one was so basic as to explain why a movement could develop around the idea of a "new culture." This was the anarchist rejection of politics. Indeed, this broad antiauthoritarian theme helps to account for anarchism's appeal to many perceptive Chinese revolutionaries of the century's first decade. For them, anarchism provided the perspective to see beyond anti-Manchu or even antidyadic revolution to social revolution. For several years after the Revolution of 1911, social and cultural issues involved in revolution were overlooked, except by anarchists. Shifu's rejection of political revolution virtually as it began, surely increased his stature with young idealists of the late 1910s. Clearly the turn to discussion of culture during this time grew out of the frustration with politics in those early years of the Republic. This frustration changed the focus of intellectual discussion from politics to culture. The

rediscovery of cultural issues helps to account for the optimism of the new youth: if politics was out of control, individuals might at least deal with their own thinking and behavior and transform the human relationships in their own lives. Thus, a new sense of problem coincided with the solutions the anarchists had been urging on their fellow Chinese for a decade. While anarchism offered an analysis of the economic predicament of society, its appeal to Chinese intellectuals depended on its blanket condemnation of authority in every aspect of society and culture. This resonated perfectly with their concerns.

While many anarchist journals were being published during the mid-1910s, their readership was limited. The difficulties of the *Voice* group after Shifu's death suggests a general lull. Meanwhile, Chen Duxiu set out to build a movement among the student generation of the period, launching *New Youth* in September 1915 (half a year after Shifu's death). Chen's prestige and the new journal's audience of Beijing University students helped to account for the success of *New Youth*. Chen hoped to stimulate a movement that would change the thinking and behavior of his student readers. With the journal's growing success, Chen was able to orchestrate the New Culture movement by calling up themes and material that he and others, most notably the anarchists, had introduced during the previous decade. He presented these themes to great effect by timing their discussion in *New Youth* with domestic or international political events. Chen also made use of teacher-student relationships to build a following that ultimately became political.²³ At first, however, he sought to tread a fine line between culture and politics, relying on the transformed minds of China's young intellectuals to effect positive change in both behavior and public life.

Chen Duxiu was never an anarchist himself; as he commenced publication of *New Youth*, he did not seek to foster any particular ideological viewpoint. As suggested below, Chen at first seems to have been groping for a workable approach to his task as editor. That anarchist themes were discussed in this major journal is partly explained by the environment at Beijing University. Cai Yuanpei, the president, was an anarchist, as were some other members of the talented faculty he recruited. Other faculty and student contributors accepted some ideas associated with anarchism. Chen as editor set out to foster dialogue within the Beida and the broader academic community, and anarchist themes were discussed because they had become widespread in the intellectual community. Thus, these themes entered into the discussions in *New Youth* and other New Culture journals. Anarchism set the agenda for the dialogue on New Culture. All of the topics discussed below—women's equality, labor, the importance of science, Esperanto, internationalism and China's role in a worldwide people's revolution—had been put forward by the Paris anarchists and emphasized as only Shifu could emphasize them.

The issue of women's emancipation illustrates how anarchist ideas entered into New Culture discourse. Anarchists had pursued the women's issue systematically and placed it in the context of a broader social revolution.²⁴

Chen Duxiu featured the issue of women's liberation as he began publication of *New Youth*. Illustrative of the problems Chen experienced as he cast about for themes and systematic presentation in his new journal is that the first material he used (in September and November 1915) included "Observations on Women," comments on man-woman relations that today seem male chauvinist in tone, and "Seven European Heroines," various versions of which had circulated in radical publications since at least a decade earlier.²⁵ By the first half of 1917, however, a number of discussions reflecting various viewpoints on the women's issue appeared in *New Youth*. Then in July 1917 the journal published Yuan Zhenying's translation of Emma Goldman's "Marriage and Love," the only specifically anarchist item that appeared in all this material.²⁶ However, this was a year before *New Youth* devoted a special issue to Henrik Ibsen, whose "Doll's House" appeared in translation, and for which Hu Shi (later an opponent of "isms") wrote an essay on "Ibsenism" that called for women's liberation.²⁷ Thus, anarchist ideas focused and enlivened discussion of this issue whose importance became universally recognized in the New Culture.

Belief in science became a virtually universal tenet in New Culture thinking. For many intellectuals of both older and younger generations, science became a panacea, powerfully appealing because of the perceived failure of the principles on which Chinese civilization had been built. As Daniel Kwok has shown, this belief in science became so strongly held among many of its advocates that it is accurately termed "scientism."²⁸ The background to scientism extended to China's experience of technological inadequacy during the late nineteenth century, especially in the war with Japan in 1894-95. From that point progressive-minded individuals had sought to introduce modern technology. By the first decade of the new century, however, there were few besides the Paris group of Chinese anarchists who made scientific principles basic to their worldview. For Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng, and their associates in Paris, scientific principles stood as the basis for technological development and for a rational ordering of human society. If the New Culture movement is characterized as China's Enlightenment, Wu and Li were the movement's first *philosophes*. Shifu accepted the scientific theme with enthusiasm. However, he placed a somewhat different emphasis from Wu on the relationship between modern science and the moral principles it implied in Kropotkin's anarchism. For Shifu, the principle of mutual aid that underlay the natural world gave immediacy to its moral meaning in human society.

Wu remained one of the most active advocates of science. Several of his best-known statements on this subject appeared in *New Youth*. He sometimes emphasized points even more basic than the importance of science. Convinced that Chinese intellectuals first needed to overcome an age-old prejudice against physical labor, he urged his readers to take up the arts of "material civilization." The potentialities of the material arts became Wu's theme in two essays, "Youth

and Tools" and "Again on Tools" published in *New Youth* in late 1916.³⁹ Human hands, themselves the best tools, had been used to create other tools, Wu noted, but the Chinese had failed to partake of this evolution because of their bias against physical labor. Wu urged the new youth to get involved in this process. In "Moving toward the Great Harmony through Machinery" (summer 1918, reprinted from *Labor*, for which see below) Wu developed this theme even further.⁴⁰ This essay stood as one of the best-known of Wu's career. He became associated with the idea of "saving the country with motors."⁴¹ Wu's belief in science underlay his worldview; this position is correctly associated with the anarchists.

Esperanto remained an important issue with anarchists during the New Culture period. *New Youth* devoted a surprising amount of space to discussions of Esperanto along with other language issues, such as the need to develop a Chinese syllabary. Wu Zhihui also served as a major spokesman for the anarchist point of view on Esperanto.⁴² In his longest discussion of these language issues, Wu displayed his sarcastic wit in ridiculing national essence advocates who feared the advance of Esperanto.⁴³ Wu concluded that Esperanto was the best hope for an international language capable of assisting scholars, businessmen, and any others interested in easing communication across the barriers of national languages. By this time Wu appears less insistent on the ideal of international community than he had been a decade earlier, and here he gives more attention to the practical problems of language reform.

Among younger anarchists, Shifu's followers Huang Lingshuang and Ou Shenghai recommended Esperanto to readers of *New Youth* in several statements.⁴⁴ Writing in 1919, Huang expressed hope that, as the war had ended, Esperanto would offer the best means for international communication in a time when opportunities for the worldwide people's movement seemed better than ever. Both Huang and Ou believed Esperanto could help in moving toward language unification within China and internationally. Esperanto could resolve the issue whether to standardize spoken Chinese according to northern or southern pronunciation.⁴⁵ Their view on this question suggests why many anarchists did not support the *baihua* movement with the same enthusiasm they displayed for other causes. Huang and Ou were Cantonese, as were most in Shifu's following; if this is a correct assessment of their views on *baihua*, it might reflect a southerners' bias.

Anarchists' attachment to the Esperanto issue may be seen as a barometer of their attitudes on a number of cultural questions. The Paris group had begun to espouse Esperanto almost exactly at the point when the movement developed great momentum in Europe. To use Esperanto meant to participate in the avant-garde culture of Europe. The potentialities of a rationally devised, basically simple international language were clear to these whose home culture so strongly emphasized language as the essence of culture. As the New Culture movement began to develop, literature assumed a coequal place with language in this

cluster of issues. *New Youth* and many other New Culture journals regularly featured literature: poetry, novels, drama. However, anarchists played only a limited role in discussions of literature or in efforts to produce *baihua* literature, as Hu Shi, for example, would do.⁴⁶ This lack of interest in literature seems inconsistent, given the anarchists' focus on the major themes of social revolution.

The level of culture with which anarchists were concerned was everyday living rather than artistic expression. Thus, they concentrated on themes in what might be termed cultural engineering rather than those concerned with culture as the arts. Peter Zarrow has observed that by the late 1910s, anarchists appear less devoted to moral principles than Shifu had been and generally seemed to believe that if anarchist ideas for restructuring society were simply introduced, the desired changes would move quickly toward implementation.⁴⁷ Probably most were not quite so naive; but this concern with language rather than literature suggests a preoccupation with culture as behavior rather than culture as the forms of artistic expression, which could change attitudes and behavior by the power of suggestion.

Support for Esperanto also expressed the anarchists' consistent advocacy of internationalism. Being internationalist did not mean that anarchists would fail to oppose imperialist actions on the same basis as their fellow Chinese who were patriots pure and simple, for the great powers' aggression and aggrandizement represented the forces of authority in the international community. A writer in *Liberal Record* expressed the principle as Shifu had put it: "Anarchism is internationalist, and as the people of the world prepare for their common mission, it will be impossible for one country to become anarchist and others not to."⁴⁸ As World War I concluded, Chinese anarchists anticipated the great wave of worldwide revolution outlined in their theory.⁴⁹ Eventually the theme of international brotherhood in revolution would be framed by the Chinese Communists, echoing Lenin and the Comintern. However, the expectation of a worldwide people's revolution had been introduced by the Paris anarchists years earlier. As with so many other of the themes of anarchism, Shifu had redoubled the emphasis on worldwide social revolution as the fulfillment of anarchist theory.

International Revolution and Workers' Issues in the Anarchist Journal *Labor*

As the idea of worldwide people's revolution was so important to Shifu, it was appropriate that three of his closest associates had major roles in one of the first Chinese journals to respond to the Bolshevik Revolution, which ultimately would have a great effect on revolution in China. In 1918 Liang Bingxian, Zheng Peigang, and Shifu's younger brother Shixin joined Wu Zhibui in launching *Labor* (*Laodong*), the first Chinese journal to use this term in its

name, published in Shanghai and devoted to educating and organizing the city's workers.⁵⁰ This collaboration almost certainly would have angered Shifu; yet at the time it behooved both Shifu's comrades and Wu to seek to cooperate in the interests of the anarchist movement. This foreshadowed Wu's overtures to younger anarchists to join the GMD a decade later (see chapter 10).

Laodong's initial response to the events in Russia (published March 1918) was strongly positive, linking the revolution to anarchism and again reflecting the optimism that revolution would spread elsewhere.⁵¹ *Laodong* also was one of the first Chinese periodicals to present Lenin's role as the Bolshevik leader. In a follow-up report on events in Russia, however, the journal wrote more accurately of the Bolsheviks. This second report corrected any initial suggestions that Lenin wished to conduct social revolution according to anarchist principles: "Lenin certainly is not an anarchist; if he were, he would oppose authority." However, Lenin was credited with seeking to place power in the hands of workers and using it to achieve the good of the masses. Further, the view presented here was generous in allowing that in the midst of revolutionary change, it would not always be possible to tell what methods would be most effective.⁵² These discussions gave a positive impression of the Bolsheviks and expressed hope that the common goals of socialism might be achieved. They also anticipated the disagreements that would emerge when Chinese anarchists and Marxists attempted to establish a common ground for cooperation a few years later.

Within a year after *Laodong* first suggested the importance of the revolution in Russia, the idea of international solidarity would take on such force as to stir several major groups in China to action and organization. Certainly such appeals as Li Dazhao's "The Victory of Bolshevism," published half a year later in the more widely read *New Youth*, had greater impact than these discussions in the short-lived Shanghai journal. But among Chinese radicals, anarchists had been proclaiming this possibility of revolution as a result of war for several years. No wonder, then, that the students who later joined the May Fourth movement felt sustained by "plain people" outside China when they sought to reverse the result of the war that most directly affected China.

Laodong addressed the practical concerns of labor and labor organization. One such discussion began by observing that in some respects workers in Shanghai had not advanced much over the past decade, a comment echoing Shifu's 1914 discussion of workers' organizations. However, the article also expressed pride in the growing sense of solidarity displayed in a strike that had drawn in several different groups of workers. The writer (identified only as S.S.) urged workers to strike for other causes than wage increases and to avoid any organization that involved their bosses. Broad recommendations for workers' organizations followed: It should be workers themselves who organized, from the bottom upward and from locally outward. There should be no leaders, only those who take care of business; the principle of equality should

be upheld. Labor organization should be for the ultimate purpose of social revolution, not to achieve political power.⁵³ These too were principles that Shifu had put forward in his comments regarding labor organization. In this initiative to labor, Shifu's comrades carried on his concerns; however, *Laodong* also perpetuated one basic shortcoming in Shifu's efforts: most of its articles were written in literary Chinese, not *baihua*.

Laodong also publicized the "Study in France" movement, which stands as the single most successful project of the older generation of anarchists. It established the idea that study in Europe would provide intellectual breadth and an acquaintance with technologically advanced Western society. Despite some serious problems, this movement stands as one of the most effective and large-scale organizational efforts of the anarchist movement.⁵⁴ While the movement to study in France is well known, *Laodong* also publicized a work-and-study movement within China at this point in the late 1910s. By the early 1920s, many students who had stayed home engaged in various kinds of projects to help educate workers and, in the process, to begin to understand the life of workers.⁵⁵ All such activities drew students closer to workers and to practical concerns of all kinds. This is another example of an activity that has been associated with the early communist movement rather than the anarchist movement, perhaps because it was indeed down-to-earth and worker-oriented. While the communist movement ultimately handled this initiative to labor most effectively, the communists were by no means first to undertake it.

A Final Theme: The Question of Belief

As the first wave of an international movement, the Bolshevik Revolution suggested a political direction for the enthusiasms of the New Culture. While China's "new youth" were considering the implications of the events in Russia, the Versailles Peace Conference delivered the major result of the war for China: the Shandong peninsula was to be turned over to Japanese control. Together, the revolution in Russia and the decision on Shandong transformed New Culture consciousness into May Fourth activism. An aroused nationalism mobilized the new youth to political activity; henceforth this nationalism would be a pervasive force in all political activity.

When the May Fourth movement began, Chen Duxiu stood with the students who had responded to the appeals he and others made in *New Youth*. Chen's involvement in May Fourth brought a new turning point in his career, as by spring 1920 he began devoting his major effort to organizing a Communist Party in China.⁵⁶ It is of particular interest that, on the brink of this shift to revolutionary activity, Chen wrote to express his concerns about the question of belief, of a worldview that could provide confidence during this period of change. In this Chen shared another of the anarchists' concerns, which the latter had expressed as opposition to superstition. In *New Century*, Wu Zihui had

been unrelenting in his ridicule of superstition. Shifu had made opposition to superstitious beliefs the final point of his Conscience Society pledge. Beginning with *New Youth*, New Culture journals extended the attack on superstition as a basic element of their iconoclasm. Chen Duxiu himself led this attack and used all the supporting voices he could find.⁵⁷ Ultimately these discussions, which usually opposed science to superstition, focused on the question of belief, in the same way this question had concerned thoughtful Chinese for the previous two decades.

Writing in April 1920, only weeks before he began his efforts at party organization, Chen Duxiu wrote a retrospective on the New Culture movement for *New Youth*.⁵⁸ After noting that the movement had fostered the scientific outlook essential to modern life and thought, Chen turned to the contrast between modern philosophies and China's old culture with its emphasis on religion. Seeking to reconcile the advance of science with the slower development of belief, Chen referred to Cai Yuanpei's treatment of this question, which also had appeared in *New Youth* in 1917.⁵⁹ Humankind has always had an aesthetic sense, Cai had stated, which had been expressed in religion in earlier stages of human development. In the modern era, however, science had explained most phenomena formerly attributed to a divine power. Yet feeling and the need to believe remained: knowledge, will, and feeling constituted the three basic human needs. Cai had urged that the aesthetic sense be seen as a creative way to fill this spiritual vacuum. Chen agreed with Cai's thinking on this question. Referring to a letter a friend had written on these problems, Chen quoted the French sculptor Auguste Rodin: "Beauty is the expression of the best human qualities; the arts seek this beauty."⁶⁰ If China lacked knowledge, she could get it from the West, the friend had concluded; but arts could be created only within Chinese culture.

The Chinese people's spiritual disorientation showed in many ways, Chen continued. Some problems were moral. Many of the new youth were enthusiastic about the ideas of the New Culture, but they forgot that they should still love their families.⁶¹ Some problems were social. Chen cited Wu Zihui's observation that there were three great powers in Chinese life: Confucius, Guandi (the god of war), and "Mr. Ma"—mahjong. But Mr. Ma was not so bad, Chen believed, because his followers were not pretentious. He provided a way for men and women to be together in a relaxed sociability, and he was far less dangerous as a diversion than opium. Returning to the aesthetic aspect of the problem, Chen noted that he could not criticize those who go day after day to dance halls or shadow-puppet plays; they were seeking to fill a void in their lives. "our national culture lacks even the seeds of art and music."⁶² Chen offered no clear solution to the need for a new religion—for a coherent set of beliefs—but he recognized the importance of this question.

Chen's discourse on aesthetics as an alternative to religion took up more than half the space in this essay. In concluding, he returned to the goals of the

New Culture movement: to organize, to create a spirit, and to influence other movements among the people. However, Chen's concern with this basic cultural issue just at the point when his organizing effort on behalf of Marxism was about to begin, indicates his continuing concern with basic cultural issues and the point that he could still refer to old anarchist friends in discussing them.⁶² Those references again suggest the major role played by anarchists and anarchism in laying out the agenda of the New Culture. Even more relevant to our interests here, Chen's recognition of the importance of belief in any effort to build a new society agreed with Shifu's understanding of China's predicament as he turned wholeheartedly to anarchism in 1912. Shifu had come to anarchism from a form of secularized Buddhism, and for him, anarchism became a new religion adequate for all human spiritual needs. Chen's understanding of the question of belief was more complex. Although he was moving toward Marxism as a social philosophy and was impatient to get on with the basic task of organizing for revolution, he recognized the deep need for spiritual rootedness to give meaning to the great tasks of cultural transformation facing China at this time.

Shifu had made monumental contributions to the idea and the content of a New Culture. His vision of social revolution included almost every issue that became part of the New Culture.⁶³ His insistent presentation of these themes in his writings articulated the nature of problems in Chinese society and kept them in the consciousness of the intelligentsia, especially its younger members. Most profoundly, his example had stirred many of this generation of new youth, who would help to shape the ideas of the New Culture and try to live it amidst new waves of frustration as their own lives unfolded.

Neither Shifu nor other anarchists, however, were responsible for introducing democracy into discussion of the New Culture. They accepted the bias against liberal democracy from European anarchists. After the Versailles Peace Conference's decision on Shandong discredited democracy, further discussion of such important questions as building institutions to support democracy were at least postponed. By summer 1919 "Mr. Democracy" no longer stood beside "Mr. Science" as a mythical hero of the New Culture. If Shifu had been able to determine the names of those heroes, he would have chosen "Mr. Science" and "Mr. Morality."⁶⁴

Chen Duxiu stands as a pivotal figure of the New Culture period. He set out to build a movement to foster cultural change, and through a combination of intellectual and political skills, he succeeded. In stirring interest in a New Culture, Chen needed the support of Wu Zihui and Cai Yuanpei, and of Shifu, as much as he needed the help of Hu Shi and Tao Menghe. However, while he retained his respect for many anarchists, he could not fully share their vision, which was too idealistic for him. By early 1920 Chen could see no alternative to politics; the march of events convinced him that the new youth should cease to be preoccupied with discussion and experimentation, and should proceed to

action. In the early 1920s he would seek to ally with those anarchists who also were prepared to act, yet he would devote some of his strongest criticism to youngsters who used anarchist ideas to shirk their responsibility to society. May Fourth did not immediately produce the communist movement, but it did bring Chen Duxiu to a new turning point from culture to politics. As Chen sensed, the decade of the 1920s would again make politics predominant over culture. The anarchists did not fade quickly; indeed, their numbers probably grew through 1921 or 1922, as described in the next chapter. However, Chen Duxiu's turn to politics suggested a basic change that helps to account for the declining influence of anarchism during the 1920s. Anarchism stimulated Chinese activists as they conceived their vision of social revolution during the first two decades of the century. By the 1920s the tasks of revolution were conceived more concretely; the work of revolution became "harder," and effective organization became the critical factor.

In order to get a full perspective on China's history during the first decades of this century, we must acknowledge not only the role of anarchist communism in the background of the Chinese Communist Party, but also the call for cultural transformation that the early anarchists, especially the Paris group, had made beginning in 1907. What was new about the New Culture of the late 1910s was not so much its freshness as the level of its dissemination; by the 1910s, anarchist ideas had become widespread. The themes of social revolution remained the same in both decades. For the first generation of anarchists, the late 1910s probably seemed a time of harvest, not a time of planting as suggested by the widely used term "new." This image of planting and harvesting also suggests that, for anarchism, what would follow in the 1920s would be a cleaning of the fields, and use of the stalks that remained in the fields as fertilizer for the next crop. The anarchists had prepared the soil for China's social revolution. The next crop would not be their planting, but their ideas would nourish that next crop, and seeds of anarchism have sprouted voluntarily in later years.

Chapter 10

Shifting Ground, Slippery Footing: The Anarchists vs. Communists and Nationalists during the 1920s

The period from 1919 to 1927 was among the most complex of China's history in this century. The anarchist movement flourished during this post-May Fourth period, probably reaching its greatest numbers. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was formally launched in July 1921 from a background of cells that had been operating over the previous two years. Establishment of the CCP set off an extended struggle between these two socialist movements, a struggle increasingly engaged in terms of organization rather than cultural debate, to the disadvantage of the anarchists. The growing organizational strength of the Guomindang (GMD) proved even more important, for it forced the CCP to cooperate with the GMD on the latter's terms and produced the GMD's grasp of power by 1927. All three major political movements—anarchists, CCP, and GMD—sought to build popular organizations, especially labor unions. All three saw the warlords as a scourge to the nation and made them their common enemies. While all three movements recognized the need for revolution in the countryside and made some effort to organize rural people, throughout this period all accepted the premise that revolution would be focused in the cities. Underlying all other developments was the rising nationalism that sprang from May Fourth. Both GMD and CCP thrived on this tremendous force for unity and organization. While anarchists regarded their nation as one of the many victimized by Western wealth and power, they refused to cast revolution in terms of nationalism alone and gave this issue to their rivals.

The new emphasis on organization and nationalism made for changing circumstances and problems for the anarchist movement. As of the early 1920s anarchists still shared many goals with both their rival political movements. This was especially true of the CCP, with whom the anarchists tried at first, as of 1921-22, to cooperate. These attempts to work together were foiled not by disagreement on socialist goals, but by the anarchists' approach to organization. The anarchists did not resist the idea of organization, and in fact they created some effective organizations. However, their rejection of a well-defined (if not centralized) organizational structure proved critical in the conditions of the 1920s. As shown in chapter 9, anarchists had played the major role in defining social revolution, but they were unable to translate their principles into effective organizational form. While Shifu had established an effective organization based largely on his personal leadership, his successors faced frustration in their efforts to broaden the scope of organization.

During the 1920s Shifu's successors confronted two major leaders of the New Culture movement who had turned to the work of political organization. Chen Duxiu and Wu Zihui now sought to direct the enthusiasm of a younger generation of activists. In turning to political organizing, Chen followed up his attraction to Marxism and the Bolshevik example by attempting to build a similar political movement in China. Wu Zihui had largely rejected political activity during the early 1910s (despite Shifu's accusations that he had been too active), but by 1923 Wu moved quickly toward full involvement in the affairs of the GMD. True to Shifu's principles, the younger anarchists of the 1920's resisted both of these senior leaders in their respective efforts to build organizations that aspired to state power. Now issues largely theoretical during 1912-13 were played out in the politics of the 1920s. By the middle 1920s questions about the nature of revolution were not mere matters for discussion; they became matters of life and death.

For Shifu and his followers, the issue of ends vs. means was a key to social revolution. Shifu had stated repeatedly his belief that it is impossible to achieve socialism without the willing and active participation of ordinary people. In debating Chen Duxiu and Wu Zihui, those anarchists who remained faithful to Shifu's vision continued to press this point. While this ideal remained vital to Shifu's followers and widely respected among activists, both the GMD and the CCP proceeded to build centralized party structures. Shifu's followers found themselves outspent and outmaneuvered, and gradually Wu Zihui's influence began to prevail over Shifu's. Still, the respect accorded to Shifu made it necessary for Wu to debate young anarchists about what Shifu would have done in the circumstances of the 1920s. In the discussion that follows, Shifu and younger adherents to his principles are juxtaposed to Chen Duxiu and Wu Zihui in these critical issues of theory and organization.

Guangzhou and Other Cities as Theaters of Struggle

As the focus of Tongmenghui activity, Guangzhou had been a center for a revolution since before 1911. It remained Sun Zhongshan's base of operations. Shifu's work in Guangzhou had made it the major center of the anarchist movement as well, a factor that would cause problems for both Sun and the CCP by the early 1920s. Although Chen Duxiu decided to go to Guangzhou as he commenced organizational work for the CCP, he regarded the city as territory already dominated by the anarchists.¹

Chen Jiongming, the "anarchist warlord" who had longstanding links with both Shifu and Sun, became a key figure in Guangzhou. When Chen Jiongming regained control of Guangzhou in 1920, he appeared ready to provide Sun the reliable military force he had long been seeking.² By June 1922, however, the two split over the issue of how best to unify China. Sun intended to commence a northern expedition at that point. Chen Jiongming's attachment to federalism, a principle that grew out of his anarchist background, divided the two and underlay a brief military struggle in which Sun's forces prevailed.³ The two leaders became enemies after this episode; this split must be considered an important factor in Sun's willingness to accept Comintern assistance and to ally with the CCP.

The growth of labor organization in Guangzhou during the 1920s culminated a development that had begun in the early years of the century. In 1918 Shifu's successors helped to organize the Teahouse Union, the first industrywide union, and in early 1919 a barbers' union.⁴ Newly aroused worker consciousness in the wake of the May Fourth movement brought the establishment of twenty-six new unions in the city in 1919.⁵ Favorable conditions led to another wave of organizing from 1920 to 1922. By 1922 Guangzhou had about eighty labor unions.⁶ Shifu's old friend Xie Yingbo became a major organizer, now working under the auspices of Chen Jiongming and Sun Zhongshan. He adopted an anarchist name, the Mutual Aid Society, for the network he set up, which by 1922 claimed some 100,000 workers in more than one hundred affiliates.⁷

Organization gave labor unprecedented political power. This was brought to bear several times in Guangzhou during the 1920s. The unions also reflected shifting political influences in the city. They supported Chen Jiongming in his campaign to dislodge the Guangxi warlords as he returned to control in 1920. By the time of Chen's split with Sun, the unions sided with Sun, and from that point on the alliance with labor remained a keystone of Sun's power in Guangzhou. The shifting allegiances of labor usually reduced the anarchists' influence in Guangzhou. The GMD-CCP alliance further politicized labor organization and activity. There were strains from the beginning between the CCP unions and the relatively conservative GMD groups, and between both and

the even more conservative merchant community in the city. As early as 1924 Sun's government encouraged the unions in building independent armed militia for use against the merchants and their supporters. A violent clash between these two forces broke out in October of that year.⁸ Renewed anti-imperialist feeling because of the May 30 incident in 1925 brought even greater growth to the labor movement. As of 1926 Guangzhou had some 250 labor organizations with a total membership approaching 300,000. Divisions within the labor movement were exacerbated by the succession struggle following Sun's death in March 1925, culminating—in Guangzhou as elsewhere—in the purge of the CCP in April 1927. The CCP's abortive attempt to establish a "Canton commune" in December added several thousand more to the number of workers who became victims in the tragic conclusion to this period of burgeoning growth in the Guangzhou labor movement.⁹

Other cities experienced similar levels of labor activity, and also usually reflected an anarchist presence at least through the early 1920s. As China's major industrial center, Shanghai was a focal point for worker organization. Beijing, Tianjin, and other major cities also experienced labor organization and actions at various times.¹⁰ In none of these cities, however, was labor merely the "putty in the hands of Party cadres to be molded at will" that either GMD or CCP histories have sought to show.¹¹ But it seems accurate to generalize that there were times in each of these Chinese cities when large numbers of workers were prepared to respond as Party cadres hoped they would, and this feature of mass mobilization became a means all the movements used to build support.

The struggles that ensued between anarchists and Marxists in these major cities during the early 1920s were mirrored in many provincial capitals and regional cities. Nanjing had its anarchist organizations, as did Changshu, a suburban city northwest of Shanghai. Wuhan became another point of struggle between anarchists and Marxists. In Changsha, Mao Zedong's commitment to Marxism was made clear through his struggle with some local anarchists in 1921, although he extolled the courage of two young anarchists who were executed for their labor organizing activity.¹² Taiyuan, capital of Shanxi, and some smaller cities in Yan Xishan's province had small groups of anarchists, probably because of the influence of the longtime anarchist Jing Meiju.¹³ Sichuan, generally regarded as China's outback, had a surprising number of anarchist groups, not just in Chengdu, its capital, but also in some of its smaller cities. Li Feigan, better known by his pen name Ba Jin, suggests the appeal of anarchism in *The Family (Jia)*, his best-known novel. Ba Jin appears to have come under the influence of anarchism in the early 1920's when the movement began to ebb in the coastal cities. When Ba Jin traveled down the Changjiang to work on behalf of the anarchist movement in Shanghai, he left behind at least a dozen anarchist groups in Sichuan.¹⁴

The ideological struggles of the early 1920s also were staged outside China itself. Continuing anarchist activity in the Chinese communities of southeast Asia is reflected in reports of periodicals published in Singapore or Manila. Hua Lin, who earlier had been active with *Annals of Freedom*, was in Manila during 1919.¹⁵ These debates were carried on in North America as well. Shifu's old associate Zheng Bi'an, who lived both in Canada and the United States, continued to propagandize anarchism along with his other activities.¹⁶ Chinese communities in California, especially the San Francisco Bay area, echoed politics back home. The most important overseas front in these ideological struggles, however, had to be in France, where large numbers of Chinese students continued to go on the work-and-study movement. As this movement was sponsored by the "first-generation" anarchists Wu Zihui, Li Shizeng, Cai Yuanpei, and others, the Marxist groups that formed in France may be reckoned as having grown out of the anarchist movement. However, the senior anarchists, especially Wu Zihui, alienated large numbers of the students by gross lapses in their management of the program. Ultimately the same kinds of basic issues on which individuals decided which movement to join back home in China also determined the allegiances formed while studying abroad.¹⁷ Whatever the setting, the issues were much the same in the struggles between anarchists and their rivals during these critical years.

The Parting of the Ways: Anarchists and Communists in Guangzhou, 1921-22

The spring of 1921 proved a critical period in relations between anarchists and Marxists. It marked the beginning of concerted efforts to organize Marxist groups in Guangzhou and elsewhere. This also was the time when the two groups saw that their differences were irreconcilable and decided to go their separate ways. Chen Duxiu arrived in Guangzhou in late 1920 to serve as provincial minister of education at the invitation of Chen Jiongming soon after he gained control of the city. Chen Duxiu had little success in recruiting people to Marxism in Guangzhou. He hoped to enlist anarchists to his side, but they adhered to their prior views. Because of better prospects in Shanghai, Chen returned there in August 1921.¹⁸

Beginning in March 1921 a revived *Voice of the People* played an important role in the debates between anarchists and Marxists in Guangzhou. Shifu's followers Liang Bingxian and the younger Ou Shengbai served as editors of these issues.¹⁹ *Voice* published a number of essays intended to draw the distinctions between anarchism and Marxism. This revived *Voice* presents some interesting changes from Shifu's original version of the journal: most of the articles were written in *baihua*, and writers were not usually identified. By this time, of course, the discussions of *baihua* in *New Youth* and similar journals had long since taken effect among intellectuals, and students had made a number of

initiatives in workers' education projects. These modifications reflect the gradual changes that were occurring, as the decade turned, in intellectuals' efforts to propagate their views.

Voice also did much to publicize the debate between Chen Duxiu and Ou Shengbai, who had been a student of Chen's at Beida. The debate grew out of a lecture Chen gave on January 15, 1921, not long after his arrival in Guangzhou. Speaking on "A Critique of Socialism" at the School of Government and Law, Chen surveyed the various forms of socialism, including anarchism, and naturally enough for his own position, recommended Marxian socialism. A few days later the talk was reprinted in *The Guangzhou Masses* (*Guangzhou Qunbao*), a joint publication of the anarchists and Marxists. Ou responded with a letter to Chen; this first reply and two further exchanges of letters followed, all of them printed in the newspaper. *Voice of the People* then reprinted Ou's part of the debate in a special supplement in early April. Initially the exchange seems to have been published only in Guangzhou. It received much broader circulation when it was reprinted in *New Youth* in August.²⁰

Most of this debate was quite civil, with differences being expressed more in philosophical than ideological or personal terms. Chen and Ou spoke for groups that were attempting to cooperate and might remain allies. At issue were such questions as how they might work together, what kinds of organizations they should create and under what kind of leadership, and what society would be like following the social revolution they both wanted. Chen and Ou worked the gamut of points that have divided Marxists and anarchists: individual freedom and the free association that anarchists proposed as the means to organize society and manage production; law and discipline, including the question of how to achieve compliance with the principles of socialism; and education as the conveyor of values and a means to change those who were not prepared to participate in social revolution. In responding to Ou's appeal that special schools be established for recalcitrants, Chen noted that Marxists agreed that education was preferable to law, "but we cannot superstitiously believe that education can do everything" or "that education can replace law." The notion that such a transformation could occur in people's heads was "the fatal flaw of you anarchists," he asserted.²¹ Perhaps it took an anarchist to make a Marxist appear conservative. Chen argued for law and order and showed no reservations or misgivings on the point. Even though law in its present forms had flaws, he argued, national unity and the systems of law that accompanied it were the results of an historical process. It was impractical—and naive as well, Chen implied—to try to replace that binding power of law with voluntary agreements.

The question of free association had direct relevance to the labor-organizing efforts in which the anarchists and Marxists were engaged at Guangzhou. The anarchists maintained that each organization should retain autonomy regarding joint actions with other groups, such as general strikes or support for another union's action. The Marxists sought to build a disciplined

united front among workers, primarily for political purposes. They were apprehensive of "syndicalism," the tendency for workers to use their power only for short-term economic gain.²² Disagreement on the issue of autonomy was crucial in ending the anarchists' willingness to work with the Marxists in Guangzhou.²³ Thus, there were immediate issues at stake in the debate, even though Chen and Ou agreed as their exchanges ended that many of the points in their debate involved questions of future social organization.

The civil tone of the Chen-Ou debate was appropriate because of the nature of the issues addressed. These years in China have been viewed alternatively as an equivalent of the Renaissance or the Enlightenment. Another analogy, from China's own history, also is appropriate: With the reconstitution of Chinese society at issue, all these "isms" bade for support as a new "Hundred Schools of Thought" contending. Although this debate concerned two forms of modern socialism, in ancient times many of the same issues had divided Daoists and Confucianists, or Mengzi (Mencius) and Xunzi (Hsun-tzu) in their respective interpretations of Confucian principles. Is human nature good? Can people achieve the common good by working together and releasing the talent and good will basic to human nature? Or do humans require authority and discipline? Such basic questions were at issue; this debate cast them in terms of modern political philosophies. Thus, Chen and Ou argued in a civil way, although many of these issues would soon enough come to blood battles.

At least twice again in the first half of 1921 while still in Guangzhou, Chen commented on anarchism in "Random Thoughts," a regular feature in *New Youth*. In "Chinese-Style Anarchism," Chen indeed harked back to the "Hundred Schools" debates in attacking anarchism as a reflection of intellectual and behavioral habits rooted in Daoism.²⁴ Anarchism fostered a lazy and undisciplined sort of free thinking, he asserted, which had as its chief cause the "nihilist thought and laissez-faire attitude" (*xuwu sixiang ji fangren zhuyi*) of Daoism. As a result, the anarchism so popular among youth "is certainly not a thoroughly western anarchism," but rather "a revival of the principles of Laozi and Zhuangzi, a Chinese-style anarchism." Chen illustrated this attitude by citing a comment he had seen in *Awakening* (*Juewu*), in which a young anarchist opposed centralized political authority on the grounds that such a government did not fit the Chinese national character (*guominxing*) or the conditions of Chinese society. The writer then had noted that he was "a Chinese-style anarchist."²⁵ The strongmen Yuan Shikai and Zhang Xun also had called for government that fit the national character and social conditions, Chen pointed out, and warned that if such irresponsible attitudes continued, China would get the kind of government those authoritarians had in mind. Chen became more aggressive in his criticisms of anarchists in "The Low-Grade Anarchist Party." These were the "nihilists" among anarchists, Chen said. He listed the kinds of people he meant, in order to make it clear that they had no principles at all: there were politicians, military types, swindlers and scoundrels of every description.²⁶

Chen regarded these characteristics of "low-grade anarchists" as a major obstacle to revolution.

Chen's offensive against anarchism would ultimately prove effective. Although for the moment the anarchists retained superiority in numbers, especially in Guangzhou, and would continue to have influence with intellectuals at least through the mid-1920s, Chen's arguments undermined the anarchist movement. He effectively associated anarchism with the politically passive tradition of Daoism.²⁷ He asserted that attitudes associated with Daoism caused youths who were attracted to anarchism to be self-centered and to forget their responsibilities to their families and society.²⁸ Chen's prestige strengthened his arguments, but his own commitment to activism as a Marxist made his views even more appealing to this later generation of youth, with whom he had gone to jail and whom he now sought to organize for effective political action. However, Chen also felt acutely an estrangement from his own sons, who at this point were anarchists and, from their father's viewpoint, shared some of these "nihilistic" attitudes.

The first issue of the revived *Voice of the People*, published in March 1921, responded to the challenge of Chen and other Marxists in Guangzhou. Citing a pamphlet that the latter were circulating in the city, *Voice* complained that the pamphlet showed no understanding of anarchism. It had focused on two alleged organizational weaknesses: that anarchists would only organize in the smallest of groups, two or three individuals; and that they lacked the effort and the means to mobilize masses of people for any large-scale project. In response, the *Voice* writer pointed out that none of Kropotkin's principles opposed large-scale organization. However, the writer continued, anarchists believe in voluntary association rather than insistent leadership by a small minority.

Other theoretical arguments appeared in *Voice*'s discussions during these months.²⁹ Anarchists opposed government in any form. They also insisted on voluntary organization for both production and distribution; these were basic points that Shifu had made repeatedly in 1913-14. By 1921, writers for *Voice* also stated their opposition to the concepts of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Shifu had not addressed these issues as such; they were part of Leninist doctrine and did not enter into the debate until after the Bolshevik Revolution. Class struggle could easily be misperceived, *Voice* observed, despite the Marxist claim that this was "an unchanging law." Even in the recent European war, nationalism had been stronger than class, and those in authority in every belligerent power had mobilized the working classes to fight each other. In earlier times there had been warfare between clans as well as religious wars. Indeed, the writer continued, nationalism appeared to have supplanted religion as the emotional cause for which the masses would willingly fight and die. Thus, the historical basis for Marx's theory seemed questionable; and in the present, the proletariat could be moved readily by causes other than class struggle. Furthermore, the *Voice* writer persisted, there was nothing to be gained by

establishing a people's dictatorship (*pingmin zhuanzheng*). Therefore, the Marxists' point that "human nature is not developed to its fullest, so there is nothing to do but use a dictatorship" deserved ridicule as "a great contradiction."

In concluding one of the most effectively argued anti-Marxist essays, another *Voice* writer emphasized that the concept of the proletariat was too vague to have any meaning. It would be as well, he said, to call upon all the women of the world to unite in overthrowing the existing male political structure and replace it with a women's dictatorship. "If you say this is a ridiculous approach, the Marxist method is the same except that what it proposes is even more remote.... what we must remember is that if we wish to save society from perishing, we cannot use methods that are doomed!"³⁰

Although it seems that anarchists should agree with Marxists that the proletariat must unite in order to overthrow the power of capital, anarchists resisted class militance. Shifu had dealt with the issues of class warfare and postrevolutionary government in his concept of people's revolution (*pingmin da geming*), envisioning a spontaneous movement that would manage affairs through local committees and using the expertise and experience of low-level leaders. Those who followed events in Russia knew that "dictatorship of the proletariat" meant that the Bolsheviks claimed authority on behalf of the proletariat. While this was a new form for authoritarian government, clearly the *Voice* writers saw the basic issue as had Shifu.

Still, Chen Duxiu and other Chinese Marxists would be effective in implying that the anarchists were unwilling to make such hard decisions as determining who their enemies were and organizing for effective action against them. The anarchists' hesitance on these issues does indeed suggest the Daoist insistence that no standards should be set up in society, as to do so will certainly set the people at war among themselves. As this struggle continued through the early 1920s, anarchists and Marxists would hold to their respective theoretical points. Despite their earlier success in arousing many of China's youth to the cause of revolution, the anarchists' inability to adapt to the need for organization that now emerged prefigured the decline of their movement.

Although Chen Duxiu's views began to erode the appeal of anarchism, the anarchist movement actually continued to grow during 1921. Accounts in *Voice of the People* suggest both the numbers involved and the propaganda methods of anarchists during this period. The Congress of the United Student Movement held in Zhangzhou, Fujian, in April 1920 had been attended by "several tens" of anarchists from Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Zhili, Hunan, and Guangdong.³¹ Among the materials distributed to those attending were a hundred thousand copies of Shifu's "A Simple Explanation of Anarchism" and "Goals and Principles of the Anarchist Party."³² Anarchists also held memorial gatherings following Kropotkin's death in February 1921. These meetings in Beijing and Shanghai had been well attended, the *Voice* reported, but none had been as remarkable as

the one in Guangzhou on March 20, attended by eight hundred sympathizers representing students, workers, and even "senators, officials, and merchants."³³

A much larger body of anarchists convened at Shanghai in June 1921. This Congress of the Far Eastern Movement had "more than a thousand and less than ten thousand" in attendance "from many countries." Thousands of copies of pamphlets and handbills were distributed as about a hundred of the delegates went out on the streets of the International Settlement to propagandize. There were a number of anarchist flags and "a few guns." After handing out their materials, these propagandizers carried out the next part of their plan: those with guns fired shots into the air, which startled people but also, predictably, got their attention as the demonstrators sang a spirited rendition of the "Anarchist Anthem." The authorities in the Settlement quickly decided that the demonstration was dangerous and arrested all the demonstrators they could find. According to the *Voice* account, about a hundred anarchists from Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Shanxi, Hunan, and other provinces were jailed. The case became a local cause celebre, as reporters from the foreigners' press went by the jail daily to learn the latest developments. When the case came to trial, a student from Chongqing testified that the handbills had been printed in Hankou and the flags had been made in Shanghai.³⁴ Both the numbers and extent of the activity testify to the extensive influence of anarchism. While its purposes were somewhat different, the founding meeting of the Chinese Communist Party held in Shanghai a month later had only a dozen participants.

The celebration of May Day in Guangzhou in 1921 also shows the continuing appeal of anarchism at this time. Both anarchists and Marxists organized the celebration, in which some two thousand workers participated, waving both black and red flags. Portraits of both Kropotkin and Marx were hung at a major intersection where the activities were focused. Similar celebrations were reported in Beijing, Shanghai, Xiamen, and Chongqing.³⁵ While not every day was May Day, anarchists could mobilize large numbers of people on occasion. Serious problems still lay several years in the future, even though Chen Duxiu and other critics had identified the weaknesses that eventually would limit the anarchists' influence. In retrospect, this springtime of possibility for cooperation between anarchists and Marxists seems a tragic lost opportunity, and the last such opportunity for cooperation within the Chinese socialist movement.

Trouble on the Right: The Anarchists and the Guomindang

By 1923-24 a number of anarchists had come to believe that the growing involvement of the first-generation anarchists, especially Wu Zihui, with the Guomindang presented a problem almost as serious as that posed by the Communist Party. During the 1910s Wu engaged in several projects intended to

advance parts of the anarchist program he had done much to define; he also maintained his relationships with Sun in the latter's continuing efforts to build a successful political movement. Wu's understanding of the relationship between principles and power developed in the same way as Chen Duxiu's, and when the Guomindang reorganized to accommodate the Comintern and the Chinese Communist Party in 1923-24, idealistic younger anarchists criticized Wu for associating too closely with power, the same criticism Shifu had made a decade earlier. Shifu had insisted that, whether on the left or on the right, those who seek political authority are most to be feared. To similarly purist younger anarchists in the 1920s, the CCP had replaced Jiang Kanghu; Sun Zhongshan remained the politico on the right, and in supporting Sun, Wu Zihui again revealed his lack of understanding of anarchist principles. Shifu-ism meant opposition to any form of political authority, whatever other principles it might include.

By 1924 participation in the GMD also meant cooperation with the CCP. The GMD-CCP alliance had grown out of a long process of negotiation and internal discussion by both parties.³⁶ Contacts between Sun Zhongshan and Maring, the Comintern agent, had begun in the second half of 1922, and an informal understanding had been reached by January 1923. Chen Duxiu and other CCP leaders had their doubts: How could the CCP ultimately benefit by working closely with a political party that stood as its major rival? At the time, however, neither party commanded either great numbers or great influence. Chen was persuaded by the February 7 incident of 1923, in which Wu Peifu's warlord army annihilated the striking Hankou Railway Workers' Union, a CCP-dominated organization, that the party needed a reliable military force to counter those of the warlords. The GMD reorganized in January 1924 by formally allying with the Comintern; CCP members were allowed to join the GMD as individuals. From the CCP point of view, their members would form a "bloc within" that, in time, could gain effective power in the alliance and if necessary defeat the GMD by force. In practice, the alliance benefited both parties by providing financial aid, a reliable military force, and greater organizational cohesiveness.

Although CCP membership remained only a few thousand until after the May 30 incident in 1925,³⁷ the alliance provided opportunities for the will and the talent of a number of CCP leaders, who dominated the peasant department and other joint work. Even after Sun's death in summer 1925, the working relationship between the two parties remained positive. But Jiang Jieshi signaled his intentions toward the CCP in the *Zhongshan* gunboat incident in March 1926. While Chen Duxiu and other CCP leaders understood the import of Jiang's action then, they still chose continued cooperation as the best immediate course. But they were not surprised by Jiang's purges in April 1927. Once the CCP became functional again, its first action was to organize the Red Army (about August 1, 1927; this is celebrated as the founding date in China today).

Despite the ultimate disaster, the alliance provided significant benefits to the CCP; for the GMD, it provided the springboard to power.

Wu Zihui would play a major role in GMD leadership and in the party's efforts to attract anarchists. His evolution to the role of right-wing GMD leader reflected not just immediate political concerns but also earlier tendencies obscured by his anarchism. Since at least as early as 1911 Wu's basic position had been to support the nation's political development while refusing any sort of formal government office. At that time he had stated his view that China needed to develop political parties that would serve the public interest rather than private interests. (As he put it in 1911, "China needs a period as a Roman Republic.")³³ Wu also had been an ally of Sun Zhongshan, providing critical support against groups within the Tongmenghui who sought Sun's removal as its leader. So it is clear that Wu made no sudden turnabout as he began efforts to strengthen the GMD as of 1923. As the alliance with the CCP began, Wu appears to have been receptive to cooperating with the Communists. However, he also had experienced problems in relating to the young Marxists involved in the work-study program in France. As shown below, Wu's opposition to the CCP would become increasingly adamant.

At least from the establishment of the GMD-CCP alliance onward, Wu encouraged anarchists to join the Guomindang. Wu's "Reply to Hua Lin" in May 1924 presented opinions that separated him from many younger anarchists. Hua Lin had written a letter to Zhang Ji that appeared in the *China Times*, criticizing both Wu and Li Shizeng along with Zhang for their support of the GMD reorganization. Wu felt called upon to respond for himself; his statement also contained his broader thinking on political parties.³⁴ No matter what the society, Wu begins, there will always be three groups: conservatives, moderates, and radicals.³⁵ The political life of a society and the political decisions a society works out for itself result from the interaction of these groups. Wu then gets to his basic point in addressing other anarchists: Anarchists are revolutionaries, thus they should want to help other revolutionaries. Wu had already pointed out that he had repeatedly reaffirmed his loyalty to the Guomindang over many years.³⁶ But since the reorganization of 1924, he believed, the Guomindang was closer to being a truly revolutionary party; moreover, the Communists had aligned with the Guomindang as part of the reorganization because of their common interests. Other anarchists should join, as Wu himself had, not to help people "rise in rank and get rich" (*shengguan facai*) through politics, but to pursue their revolutionary goals. Wu concluded,

As long as the revolutionary spirit persists, I believe that somehow the Guomindang and the Communist Parties will take part of the anarchist road together. As for me individually, I have been oppressed by the machine guns of the yellow-haired and green-eyed people [Westerners]. I only hope that someone can use those machine guns to make them call themselves our brothers.³⁷

As the younger anarchists complained from this point, Wu had compromised his principles as an anarchist. As of 1924 his compromise extended to the CCP as well as the GMD.

Wu commented on the concept of parties in traditional China and urged that anarchists discard that notion: "We are the sort of nation that has been full of parties of private interest for several thousand years; if we don't learn to establish parties [of public interest] and understand that there is an importance to parties, it will be genuinely suicidal."⁴³ The Guomindang reorganization represented a new and correct approach, Wu believed. In this and other appeals Wu claimed that if they had been living in the current political situation in China, both Kropotkin and Shifu would have joined the Guomindang. This appears to be the first time that Wu sought to appropriate Shifu's memory; whether or not his claim would have been correct, Wu here raised an interesting question. As to his own political evolution, a decade earlier Wu had been at least hesitant about political activity, but by 1924 he had made a complete transition to pragmatic politics. The situation was desperate, Wu now believed. Everyone else was getting involved, and the anarchists would only be left on the sidelines if they rejected political activity.

Younger anarchists responded quickly to Wu Zihui's appeal to join the GMD. Typical responses appeared in the Shanghai anarchist monthly *Freeman* (*Ziyou Ren*).⁴⁴ Shen Zhongjiu, one of this journal's editors and its chief spokesman, set forth a well-argued response incorporating many of Shifu's arguments. Responding to Wu's claim that the Guomindang was a revolutionary party, Shen observed that the main thing the Guomindang sought at the time was to remove the warlords and set up its own new government. This would only substitute another form of authority for the present one, he said, but anarchists opposed all forms of government. The Guomindang also supported private landholding and the capitalist system of production, while anarchists opposed both. For these basic reasons, Shen argued, true anarchists should not heed Wu's appeal to join the GMD. Wu had put forth two basic arguments, Shen said. One was the "common enemy" argument, that all revolutionary forces should unite against warlord government. The second was the "revolutionary process" argument, that a sound republican government would be a necessary stage to prepare for anarchist society. Shen offered a number of points to refute both arguments. In allying with other groups to make revolution, he said, it was not just a question of whom you wish to overthrow, but rather a question of what you wish to establish for the general improvement of society.⁴⁵

A letter Wu had written to a member of Shen's anarchist group called forth some of the latter's most trenchant comments.⁴⁶ "What harm could it do for anarchists to join the Guomindang?", Wu had asked. While Wu had claimed his intent to support the GMD only in making revolution and *not* in establishing a government (*li zheng*) or helping its members to "rise in rank and get rich," Shen pointed out that if one joined the GMD he had to apply for membership.

accept the party's platform, and pledge loyalty—this simply was not a halfway kind of proposition. Wu suggested the course that many intellectuals, including himself, had followed since the time of the Republican revolution. Work in cultural programs or even labor organizing, anything not involving positions in the administrative system, Wu said, could contribute to the goals of revolution. Shen countered this view by the arguing that revolutionaries need independence and creativity. It was curious, he noted, that the CCP had joined the GMD, and not the reverse. Why was this?, he asked. It was because the GMD valued its independence. For the CCP to join the GMD required a political turnaround for each individual CCP member and would bring destruction for the party itself. "It would be even more unreasonable for anarchists to join the Guomindang; it would simply be suicide."⁴⁷ Why shouldn't the GMD join the anarchists? This would be a progressive change.⁴⁸

Shen parried Wu's claim that Shifu and Kropotkin would have joined the GMD of the 1920's. As Kropotkin's comments to Emma Goldman made clear, he abhorred the Bolsheviks for their ill treatment of the anarchists and other cooperating socialist parties and charged that Bolshevik policy was dangerous to the philosophy of Marxism. This was proof, Shen noted, of the Russian anarchists' error in cooperating with the Bolsheviks.⁴⁹ Wu also claimed that Kropotkin's decision to support the Allies as the war in Europe began had indicated that he would take a pragmatic course and join with the force that came closest to agreeing with his views. Shen pointed out that other leading anarchists such as Goldman, Errico Malatesta, and Domela Nieuwenhuis had led in drawing up the statement in which many anarchists condemned both sides in the war (see chapter 9). Not all anarchists had agreed with Kropotkin. Shen concluded. Wu also claimed that Shifu had only rejected the GMD, in those days when the Republic was launched, for its members' tendency to "rise in rank and get rich." Wu stated that Li Shizeng had felt the same way at that earlier time, implying that as Li had now changed his position, Shifu would do the same. Shen's response was simple: Wu's view as to what Shifu would do was only conjecture, and it was an insult to Shifu. The several references to Shifu in Shen's discussion with Wu suggest both his continuing appeal and the perceived value of having him take your side.⁵⁰

Beginning with these discussions in 1924, Wu's influence on younger anarchists on this issue of political involvement gradually began to supersede Shifu's, even among those who railed against Wu. As an influential figure in the GMD leadership over the next few years, Wu approached the struggle with the CCP in ever more pragmatic, even ruthless, terms. If he had felt guilt for any shirking of his responsibility to the Chinese body politic as the Republic began, certainly he had compensated for this by 1927.

Although their growing enmity through this period screens the point, Wu Zhihui and Chen Duxiu resemble each other closely in this course of development just described for Wu.⁵¹ Until he decided that Marxism and the Bolshevik

example offered the best alternative for China, Chen had regarded political change as a gradual process to be evolved through the leavening power of an awakened cultural elite. His decision to embrace Marxism and the Bolshevik model gave him more solid principles than he had held previously, without making him dogmatic except on such basic points as the need for organization, for class struggle, and for a revolution based on an analysis of the economic form of society. A key difference between Chen and Wu was that the latter appeared to have settled on his principles during his years as a publicist for anarchism before 1911. Thus, when he undertook to build the GMD organization in the 1920s, Wu appeared to have backslid. Even at this time Wu agreed with Shifu on one basic point: the Marxists were antagonists most to be feared.

One against Two: Anarchists Confront the GMD-CCP Alliance

As the GMD-CCP alliance developed, anarchists continued to contest the Bolshevik approach to organization while also opposing Wu Zihui. In their campaign against the CCP, these anarchists sought to establish their role as the legitimate socialist movement because of their long record of activity. *Mutual Aid Monthly* (*Huzhu Yuekan*), which began publishing in March 1923, was directed against the emerging alliance, with much of its content focused on the CCP and its activities. Zheng Peigang, writing under the pen name Ke Lao, produced a list of "Our Propaganda Materials over the Past Twenty Years," which showed more than seventy journals and books published by anarchists.⁵² The clear implication was that the anarchists had been actively pursuing social revolution much longer than the Marxists.

The major arguments used to counter the CCP's approach to organization were Shifu's, sometimes modified to apply to the changed conditions of the 1920s. *Mutual Aid Monthly* also carried an article entitled "The Labor Movement," by "An" (probably "Anarchist," from *annaqi*, a transliteration), who stated his views of Marxist labor organization. "An" noted a major difference between anarchists and Marxists in their approach to organizing workers:

Anarchists are opposed to workers' organizations in which a small number of intellectuals appeal to uncomprehending workers to accept their control. And we support workers' organizations based on our principles, with self-consciousness and self-determination, able to struggle for basic things, freely organized, and not receiving someone else's direction and control.

He then described some of the potential problems with a cadre of professional revolutionaries:

Because Marxism is unable to eliminate government, class, or capitalists, they try a different tactic and arouse people's greed. Many low-grade politicians, meddling careerists, (many such people have passed themselves off as Chinese Marxist labor organizers, because there is a salary), have seeped into the movement, planning to seize control from the present controlling class. Because they pay no attention at all to humankind's innate capacity for mutual aid, they strongly advocate their class struggle... In the society of the future, they will only "work for the people" to make their living [lit., "eat rice"].⁵³

An's comments here match those mentioned above regarding the GMD and reflect the anarchists' prejudices against paid party workers. Directed against both CCP and GMD, this criticism suggested that a party infrastructure could readily develop into a bureaucratic monolith. The anarchists' understanding of the flaws in Marxist-style organizing was prescient.

For all this insight into the dangers of structured power, these objections by the anarchists contained a great measure of irony. If anarchists resisted this kind of organization, they should have mastered the techniques of free organization. However, few anarchists seem to have been adept at organizing people. True, their work in Guangzhou clearly had paid off. And perhaps the nondirective approach they advocated would have worked in an atmosphere of greater stability, or of less aggressive advance by warlords and other power-seekers.

Indeed, by late 1923 some anarchists were discouraged, as for example "W" of the Star Society (*Xing She*). In an open letter to anarchists in *Sea of Learning* (*Xue Hui*) in December, he expressed his concerns.⁵⁴ Our organizations do not have any staying power, he complained; only rarely was there a good one. He believed his comrades failed to understand the importance of organizational life and the need for discipline. He also offered the view that anarchist groups should "give attention to their members' lives," suggesting that organizations should provide a livelihood for those who served them, as did both the CCP and the GMD.

Comments by Kuli (Bitter Strength) written in July 1925 confirmed that a growing number of anarchists understood the problems affecting their movement and sought ways to counter their Marxist rivals. In "Problems Facing Us Now," published in *People's Bell*, Kuli acknowledged that the anarchists were plagued by organizational problems that hurt their propaganda work. He referred to a discussion by Chen Muqin, a Sichuanese anarchist, who had observed that while many groups claimed to publish their journals at regular intervals, they did not actually do so. Some groups published upon whim or convenience and lacked a serious commitment. Kuli agreed with a statement he quoted from Chen:

The publications of comrades everywhere are long on lofty theoretical talk and short on methods. They have many direct translations that are hard to understand but only a few clear edited versions. They have many poems in

new forms that moan and groan even though the writers are not sick, but they lack investigations of the workers' lives. In sum, these publications only meet the interests of the intellectual class and are not suitable for propagandizing the masses.⁵⁴

Kuli proposed that the movement deal with this problem by making *People's Bell* a theoretical journal, and that the new journal *The Masses* (*Minzhong*) be made a propaganda organ devoted to practical issues.⁵⁵

Kuli's "Draft Program for Anarchist Organizations," published in *People's Bell* in September 1925, shows that a number of anarchists understood the practicalities of revolution-making.⁵⁶ This comprehensive discussion covered political and economic questions, as well as the workers' and peasants' movements. In a section on assassination and violence, he stated that these were legitimate methods for those prepared to use them. As for the mass revolution (*minzhong geming*), he called on his comrades to participate in the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants. While improving the living conditions of these classes was an ongoing goal, the anarchists should look to a period of revolution when efforts would go beyond general strikes and tax resistance to providing arms, so that the workers and peasants could defeat the militarists and display their own military power. In conclusion, he recommended cooperation with other parties, suggesting the "democratic party, socialist party, and Leninist party."⁵⁷ In any such cooperation, however, anarchists should not permit their own revolutionary goals and methods to be compromised. There were good people in these other parties, Kuli said, and they could join the anarchists as individuals.

Kuli's statements suggest an important point: although things were not going well for the anarchists by the mid-1920s, their movement still had a corps of experienced and devoted revolutionaries. By 1925 the anarchists clearly were losing ground to both the CCP and the GMD, and the clear-eyed among them recognized that weakness at organizing was a basic cause for this. Their sensitivity to this problem shows up often in the writings surveyed above. Moreover, as Kuli's second article shows, they began to appropriate Communist terminology. Instead of a "people's revolution," Kuli looked to a "mass revolution" and a "workers' and peasants' revolution." And he even suggested using armed force. If anarchists had set the terms of revolution as of the May Fourth period and the early 1920s, by this time at least some anarchists had begun to think of revolution as described (if not always practiced) by the Bolsheviks and their counterparts in China. In itself this change in terms reflects the relative influence of the two movements in the new circumstances of the mid-1920s.

Those anarchists who stood firmly by the principle of free organization found the ground shifting under them, especially after formation of the GMD-CCP alliance. This element, who remained faithful to Shifu's vision for anarchism in China, probably accounted for an ever smaller proportion of those

who called themselves anarchists. While their criticisms of both the GMD and the CCP appear to have been justified, the anarchists had their own weaknesses, chief of which was their weakness at organization. Their rejection of force as a political weapon also made them increasingly ineffective at a time when the GMD was building a formidable army. As suggested by borrowed terminology and implied admiration for the successes of their Communist rivals, the anarchists could see that their appeal was declining. If they felt disoriented in this changing political landscape, they were simply the first group to experience the problems of a third party in twentieth-century Chinese politics.

Wu Zihui would have been elated if all anarchists had joined the GMD as its relations with the CCP deteriorated. Wu himself had moved ever farther to the right since Sun Zhongshan's death in March 1925. His enmity toward the CCP was cumulative, but it appears to have crystallized as a result of a single incident. Wu was roused to great indignation by a conversation he had with Chen Duxiu about how long it would take to implement communism:

Without hesitation Chen replied, "Twenty years." ... [Wu:] "Then the Guomindang only has nineteen years left.... If you're in such a hurry, you're going to take the life of the Guomindang a bit too soon. We should have a thorough talk about this!"⁴⁹

By the middle of 1925 Wu had become a key figure in the right wing of the GMD. Resistance to Bolshevism had become the main feature of his anarchism, if his principles could any longer be identified by this term.

Conclusion

Both the timing and the content of the *People's Bell* memorial issue to Shifu reflect irony. This issue is dated March 25, 1927, the twelfth anniversary of Shifu's death. Among the statements by Shifu's admirer's were Sanmu's "We must print collections of Shifu's writings, establish Shifu schools, and build Shifu parks. Long live Shifu-ism!" and Zhentian's "Ah, Shifu: What you were, we aren't, and what we are, you were not." As other younger anarchists who expressed such admiration for Shifu, these two joined the Guomindang. Wu Zihui's influence ultimately overcame Shifu's.

Only weeks after these high sentiments for Shifu appeared in *People's Bell*, the GMD wiped out its CCP members in the purges of April 1927. Few of the younger anarchists who had just joined the GMD could have anticipated this sudden and bloody end to the GMD-CCP alliance. Probably some of them realized soon enough that in joining the GMD they had aligned with a force less likely to advance socialism in China than the CCP. Few could have failed to be horrified at the toll in lives taken, of leaders and of idealistic youths like

themselves who had joined the other party. For Chen Duxiu the purges brought personal as well as political tragedy. His eldest son, Yannian, was imprisoned in Shanghai and executed within days after the purge.⁶⁰ The execution of his second son, Qiaonian, would follow in 1928.⁶¹ Chen would be blamed for the near-extinction of his party and removed as its leader. Certainly Chen had understood from the beginning that revolutionary activity might require great personal sacrifice. Much of Chen's activity between 1921 and 1927 contributed to the growth of a political party characterized by the flaws that would make Chen himself the scapegoat for the disaster of 1927.⁶² While Shifu would have appreciated Chen's devotion to the cause of revolution, he also would have said that Chen's fate was the predictable result of such an authoritarian approach to organization.

Chen's turn to Trotskyism in 1929 seems a fitting reaction to these experiences. The Trotskyist variation of Marxism sought creative responses to actual conditions rather than obedience to a line decided by a Party center. The Trotskyist group within the Chinese Communist movement would include some of the most talented and creative of Chinese Marxists.⁶³ In embracing Trotskyism, Chen intended to move toward openness and away from centralism—toward some of the most appealing features of anarchism. In deciding to try to create an alternative movement within Chinese Marxism, surely Chen was partly responding to his own misgivings about the alliance with the Guomindang and all that had led up to the tragic events of 1927. As he considered where he should go next, did he also reflect again on his discussions with anarchists, especially with his two sons who had rashly (he thought at the time) embraced that irresponsible creed?⁶⁴

In his contribution to *People's Bell's* commemorative issue to Shifu, Wu Zhihui made another of his quotable statements. After assaying that it might take as much as ten thousand years for anarchism to become reality, and that arduous effort by good anarchists could reduce this length of time, Wu observed

So if all the party members are like me, it will certainly take 10,000 years. And if all are like most of you party members, working with the greatest effort, then it will take 3,000 years. Only if all of us were like Shifu could the time be reduced to 500 or maybe even just 300 years.... If we're talking about hanging out a sign, like the blindly confident Communist Party, within thirty or forty years we can hang the signboard of anarchism in a few places and start putting the Three People's Principles into practice.... What is important here is to commemorate Shifu; and because we have lost him, the time has increased by 2,500 years.⁶⁵

Shifu had indeed believed that hard work and a timely response to the worldwide people's revolution could bring anarchist society into being in perhaps a generation. In this he agreed with Chen Duxiu. While appearing to pay homage to Shifu, Wu Zhihui responded to him in the same way he responded to Chen,

by enlisting as many younger anarchists as he could for the Guomindang. Shifu retained his great appeal, but younger anarchists found it extremely difficult to live the principles of anarchism as simply and directly as had Shifu himself. Conditions in China's political life had changed for the worse, and the younger anarchists saw that their options were quite limited; so they succumbed to Wu's appeals.

The questions raised about what Shifu would have done, had he lived longer, do call for a response. Shifu too would have faced difficult choices. It is almost certain that Shifu would not have joined the Guomindang that Wu Zihui supported; he would have regarded Jiang Jieshi as only another strongman. Shifu would have adapted to the changing circumstances of the 1920s. Probably he would have seen great possibilities for labor organization, and he might have helped to build workers' organizations with good socialist purposes and power adequate to the demands of the 1920s. Shifu's continuing presence and voice certainly would have strengthened the anarchist movement in many other ways; in this respect, the commemorative statements of Wu Zihui and the younger anarchists were accurate.

It is also unlikely that Shifu would have found a way to ally with the Marxists, when that was a possibility as of the early 1920's. His reasons for rejecting that alliance would have been the same as those of his loyal followers who declined to cooperate with the Marxists. Had the anarchists and the CCP known in 1921 what they would learn in 1927, probably each would have been prepared to compromise more in order to cooperate. Their failure to ally in 1921 ranks as one of the great tragedies of China's recent history, for if that alliance had been possible, surely socialist revolution in China would have made even more remarkable achievements than it has. However, such an alliance would have gone against the grain of the historical relationship between the two most important international socialist movements in the modern world.

It might seem that, by 1927, Shifu had become a "hungry ghost" rather than the soul of Chinese anarchism, for by then few if any followed his principles. Yet if we consider the role his legacy played in the anarchists' internal debate at this time, Shifu was still the standard against whom all others were measured.

Chapter 11

Conclusion: Shifu, Whole-Souled Anarchist

While Liu Sifu was in many ways typical of the generations of Chinese intellectuals of the late Qing years in seeking change and adapting to the needs of his times, he was unusual in that his responses were extreme. Thus, in a short lifespan he traveled a great distance, from examination candidate to social revolutionary. He began as a scholar, passing the first level of the traditional examinations impressively. His next experience on that ladder of success proved a total frustration, and launched him on the path of reformer. He turned to "new studies" in a quest for alternatives to the orthodoxy of the examinations and worked at local reform projects such as speaking societies and girls' schools. Even in such modest efforts he encountered recalcitrance in the local official whose approval he needed, an experience which convinced him that authority is often perverse. Like many of his peers, he went to Japan for a period of study, during which he was introduced to a rudimentary populism that supported his interest in assassination work and on to a revolutionary's career. He joined the Tongmenghui at its inception in 1905 and served the antidynastic movement until its success in early 1912. Imprisoned following an attempted assassination in 1907, he began to pursue the themes of national essence thought, which led him to emphasize reform Buddhism as inspiration for revitalizing the Chinese spirit. He also began to learn the noble principles of Kropotkin's anarchism, which in time would become his new faith. Following his release from prison he returned to assassination activity. Then, when he was satisfied that the basic goal of ending the dynastic system of government had been achieved, he rejected further effort on behalf of political revolution and, as Shifu, turned to the mission of propagating anarchism among his fellow Chinese. His early death in spring 1915

came after poverty and sickness took their toll; he compromised with neither those nor other inhibiting problems, including the repressive government of Yuan Shikai.

As Liu Sifu and as Shifu, his career was characterized by a determination to "do" revolution. For him, the link between knowledge and action was always direct. From the traditional Confucian heritage he received the powerful moral burden to seek the welfare of the community. In his effort to resolve the crisis of belief that lay at the base of China's predicament, he turned to Buddhism, from which he took the concept of the bodhisattva and the courage to "dare to die." His resolution for the crisis of belief was Kropotkin's powerful idea that the highest moral values were linked to the key principle of science and nature, mutual aid.

Shifu's turn to social revolution made him a major figure in the socialist movement of the early Republican years. We have long since become jaded to the failures of those years, but for Shifu and his comrades in that dreamtime of modern Chinese socialism, this was a new beginning. In our continuing effort to understand the nature of Chinese socialism, we will do well to return to these years of general frustration, which Shifu and his fellow idealists saw as a time of great opportunity. One of Shifu's major achievements was to fan the flame of idealism among the next generation of Chinese youth, who responded to his call for social revolution.

"Wholeness" as a Theme in Shifu's Career

Much that has been discussed in the preceding chapters concerns the effort by Chinese intellectuals to restore wholeness to the life of their society and culture. Chinese civilization had been threatened with breakdown for decades before Shifu and his generation fought for revolutionary change. The sense of crisis had become more profound with each new generation, especially those after the war with Japan in 1894-95. I have suggested that this multi-dimensional crisis is best summed up as a "crisis of belief." If we use as an organizing theme the effort to achieve or restore wholeness and credibility to Chinese life, we can link the several aspects of Shifu's tremendous effort. To present Shifu's burden as a quest for restoration of wholeness and belief agrees with his own sense of what his career was about.

Shifu displayed a powerful drive, almost a compulsion, to establish a systematic form for socialism. This concern drove him early from Sun Zhongshan's camp and caused his divisive posture toward fellow socialists, even the senior anarchists who had introduced him to the new principles he cherished. Throughout his writing it is clear that he regarded a consistent, systematic socialism as vital. Here one of Thomas Metzger's observations is helpful. Modern Chinese thinkers have regarded system (*tixi*) as very important; they have not been accorded respect if they have failed to offer a systematic set of

ideas.¹ Like Confucius, Shifu was a transmitter and not a creator. His role as interpreter of anarchism was especially important in this emphasis on consistency and system.

The source of a need for system, and Shifu's sense of this need, suggest other questions. Confucianism had served for centuries as the orthodoxy that provided order in Chinese society. The principles on which order had rested had been read aloud twice monthly in every community during Ming and Qing times.² Within a few decades after Shifu's lifetime, a new orthodoxy was established on the principles of Marxism, and when that orthodoxy was fully functional, it controlled public discourse even so far as to establish accepted phrasing for all aspects of public life.³ These before and after conditions suggest the dysfunction that characterized the years of Shifu's career, when the old principles had lost their efficacy. It was a key task for Shifu's generation to establish new and relevant principles. Before a new orthodoxy could be built and its functioning regulate even the nature of public discussion, the basic principles of the system had to be established.⁴ Shifu understood this as an essential task. The powerful appeal of Kropotkin's teachings derived from their wholeness.

For Shifu and others this process to develop a new system of values in China resembled secularization. However, as the historical development of Chinese values differed from that in the West, some modification of thinking about the secularization process is needed. In China, belief and the proper attitudes and behavior associated with correct belief did not center on a divinity but instead upon earthly authorities, the father and the ruler. The absence of an independent religious establishment in traditional China meant, among other things, that there was no basis for an alternative focus of being or loyalty on which an individual's consciousness or conscience might be established. Given this background, some Chinese intellectuals in the late Qing years recognized the possibilities of religion as an alternative to imperial authority and understood the role that Christianity had played in the West in this respect. The quest for a religious alternative also helps to explain the attraction of intellectuals to Buddhism beginning in the last decades of the nineteenth century.⁵ Following the lead of Tan Sitong and Zhang Taiyan, Shifu had made much of Buddhism in the course of his intellectual and moral development. Later, the fervor of his belief in the principles of anarchism and his devotion to propagating them was religious in quality. His objective, however, was to rationalize and reestablish belief on the basis of a new system both logically persuasive and morally powerful. Shifu belonged to a generation of transitional intellectuals. Few if any others of that generation show so clearly how a modern ideology might supplant the principles of traditional systems of thought in an individual's consciousness. His pilgrimage took him from reformer to "destructionist" to intellectual Buddhism, and finally to anarchism. All the stages along the way were linked by his conviction that belief and action were inseparable.

Shifu's quest for wholeness concerned China's relationship with the larger world. His anarchism emphasized China's connectedness to that world in three specific ways: in its call for the use of Esperanto, in its emphasis on internationalism, and more broadly, in its devotion to science. Shifu's internationalism was genuine, as shown; it had grown out of his pre-anarchist experience. In rejecting the old authorities in Chinese life, especially the pretenses of the elite, it was only a modest further step to clear the boundary of a defensive cultural superiority. For Shifu and others attracted to Buddhism, the idea of a unity of all life everywhere had tremendous power. When Shifu became fully convinced of the truth of anarchist principles, this sense of the universal found expression in the concept of "the great people's revolution," which would unite the masses of every land against the authorities who attempted to rule them. Shifu's sense of support from abroad was reinforced by the exchanges of publications and correspondence with anarchists in many other countries. These confirmed his emphasis on Esperanto, for comrades abroad learned the news from China through the Esperanto section of Shifu's journal. As there was a window briefly open for dreams of a socialist equity as the Republican era began, so also there was a brief period before war descended on the twentieth century when a highly idealistic internationalist solidarity seemed possible. While these days passed all too quickly, this was a period of great openness for many progressive-minded Chinese, best reflected in the anarchists but not limited to them.

Science, the third of these principles linking China to the world, was not an original theme with Shifu or other anarchists. However, it was a theme given solid grounding and pursued persistently by almost all the anarchists. This emphasis on science precisely at the point when the Chinese intelligentsia were receptive, helped to give anarchism its broad appeal. The Paris anarchists made science a cornerstone of their principles from the beginning. As years passed and their devotion to the social teachings of anarchism faded, they maintained their enthusiasm for science and the possibilities it offered in China. To Shifu, science had a different role and meaning, for he saw in Kropotkin's teachings an absolute link between science and the moral principles on which a society should operate. Shifu presented science as part of an integrated set of principles, a key point of which was to ensure that "the people" would retain control of scientific knowledge and its uses. Thus, of the dynamic duo "Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy," the former had become established relatively earlier in elite consciousness and would retain continuous appeal. Anarchist principles were one of the significant forces behind the growth of respect for science and the devotion to studying it in China during these years. As years passed some anarchists, notably Wu Zihui, would modify their anarchism but remain advocates of science and technology. For Shifu, however, this adjustment was a tragic step away from wholeness.

Shifu and the Development of Chinese Socialism

The theme of wholeness carried over into Shifu's effort to establish accurate concepts of socialism in modern China. Shifu was by no means the first Chinese intellectual to be drawn to Kropotkin's principle of mutual aid, which linked moral life to science. His major debt to the Paris group was that they introduced this system to him. To this system Shifu added a living dimension, binding those principles with his own behavior. Wu and Li returned to China and temporized with the problems from which they had been so long separated. Shifu had become convinced that anarchism could be successfully implanted amid those problems. Shifu's youthfulness in itself accounted for much of his optimism. He was confident too because of the nature of his involvement in the antidyadic revolution, especially because of his assassination activity. His experience as a revolutionary had been total involvement; he had always moved directly from conception to action. Thus, when conventional leaders thought the revolution was finished, he believed it was only beginning.

The principles of anarchism enabled Shifu to dispose of the *ti-yong* issue once and for all. Most anarchists, certainly the Paris group and Shifu himself, held little if any attachment to the notion that any system of ideas required a Chinese base; their outlook was already cosmopolitan. However, it is significant that anarchist principles, with their emphasis on the intimate link between the natural and the moral realms, overcame the entrenched view that had categorized technique as Western and moral principle as Chinese.⁶ On top of everything else that made anarchism appealing, it rejected the Spencerian notion of "survival of the fittest," a view most discouraging to a technologically backward China. Instead, anarchism offered the hope of progress through mutual effort. Anarchism's solution was marvelous for true believers like Shifu and fully satisfying for the student generations of the 1910s. Concerned Chinese intellectuals could now move beyond the *ti-yong* issue to other concerns. In all these ways, anarchism appeared as the perfect form of modern socialism for China. Its high idealism provided the framework for Chinese intellectuals to conceive the revolution they wanted for their country. This was a conception that, although never fulfilled, also has never been removed from the hopes of succeeding generations of thoughtful Chinese.

Anarchist principles also offered a way to update the age-old notion of *datong*, Confucius' "great community." As *datong* had provided the outlines of the ideal community, anarchism appeared to offer workable principles by which to achieve that community in the modern setting. Given the concern for the welfare and stability of society in Chinese thought, the appeal of the several forms of modern socialism debated by late Qing reformers and revolutionaries is understandable. For the idealists among them, the teachings of anarchism most successfully put the *datong* principle into the framework of modern

socialism. While Shifu did not attempt to establish a close identity between datong and the anarchist society, he related the two more than once.⁷

Although Shifu's career was brief, it was well-timed to give great appeal to the themes of antiauthoritarian and cultural revolution that lay at the heart of his anarchism. To the late Qing generation of concerned Chinese intellectuals, it was clear beyond question that outmoded, arbitrary authority lay behind the weakness of the state and the social order. Anarchism blamed such authority for problems in any society and called for its replacement by the common effort of autonomous individuals who would take responsibility for their own lives. The flawed political transition to a republic revealed even deeper weaknesses in the cultural habits of the people, most of all in the elite who should have been prepared to lead. Shifu had hammered away at these weaknesses in his essays and, if he sometimes went to extremes, he had displayed a profound self-discipline that, if taken up by more of his peers, might indeed have effected the revolution he urged.

In propagating anarchism, Shifu singled out Marx as the major source for state socialism, which he believed was doomed to failure. Sun Zhongshan and Jiang Kanghu espoused versions of socialism that rested on Marxist assumptions. Shifu insisted that all the problems of European socialism had originated with Marx. These problems had culminated in the showdown between Marx and Bakunin at the demise of the International in 1871-72. In Shifu's presentation of the broader socialist movement, the anarchists had their independent history, equally as important as the Marxists. For him, Marx was the source of wrongheaded socialism, and a negative force.

Thus, Shifu's work also directly affected the image of Karl Marx among Chinese intellectuals. Contrary to a general perception still widely held, it was not the Bolshevik Revolution that introduced Marx to China. Chinese activists had access to a substantial amount of accurate information on Marx as early as 1906-7. Chinese publicists knew that Marxists in Europe, especially in Germany, were not in the streets but rather were sitting in legislatures, having decided that they might achieve some of their goals through political involvement. Anarchism, on the other hand, was presented as the social expression of a universal scientific principle. Besides this, however, anarchists in Russia and Europe had *acted* as revolutionaries in various attempts to remove those in power. While not all Chinese who were prepared to advocate or undertake assassination associated the tactic with anarchism, they knew that anarchists in Europe actively threatened governments who cared little for the people they ruled. The sum of these impressions was to make anarchism the choice of those in the revolutionary movement who favored extreme activism and radical social change.

It is difficult to be certain about the immediate response to Shifu's presentation of anarchist principles. However, the reports noted in *Voice of the People* suggest that many educated urban youth found anarchist ideas most

appealing. As years passed and the frustrations of political life in the Republic mounted, Shifu's courage in speaking out against the new authorities made him a respected and attractive figure. His personal example of uprightness presented a powerful contrast to most of those involved in the Republican government. His linking of Sun and state socialism had to make more and more sense to idealistic youths. These young people could readily see the essential point of anarchism that politics is futile, especially in a revived authoritarianism whose leaders placed any project of social improvement far down their list of priorities. Thus, the appeal of Shifu and anarchism almost certainly grew.

Shifu's career makes it clear that there was a significant socialist movement at a time we have assumed there was almost no such activity at all. Among the opinions held by these socialists and their youthful followers was a strongly negative view of Karl Marx. To change that image would be one of the first tasks for the Chinese Marxists in the early 1920s. In that effort they would be opposed by Shifu's associates and younger followers, who would use most of the points Shifu had made as they attacked Marx and his views.

As to theory, Shifu's associates were well grounded by the time of those encounters. By contrast, the grasp of Marxist theory by those who now sought to build a movement around that theory was basic at best. Chinese Marxists were at this time much like Chinese anarchists as of about 1905: their attraction to theory grew out of their knowledge that the principles they sought to understand had supported persistent revolutionary activity or—for Chinese Marxists—a successful revolution. In both cases the attraction to theory grew out of Chinese intellectuals' impatience for change. In neither case, however, was enthusiasm for the anticipated rapid solutions initially matched by sophisticated understanding of theory. Some scholars have pointed out that China's early Marxists had little even of Marx's basic writings in translation to guide them in conceiving what communism might mean in China.³

From an early point in their effort to build a movement, however, China's Marxists did have an impressive amount of information on events in Russia and the new Soviet government's efforts to formulate policy.⁴ If they did not have a refined understanding of theory, those who joined the Chinese Communist movement in the early 1920s did know something about efforts to apply theory in Russia. Furthermore, these concerns about organization and other practical aspects of revolution accorded with the approach that Chen Duxiu had begun to emphasize as he accepted the message of contemporary Russian history. In China the turn to Marxism, augmented by the Leninist approach to revolution, suggests not so much the superiority of theory as the success of practicality. A Leninist hardness of attitude regarding human nature could enable a disciplined movement to seize history in China as in Russia. This newest feature of the Marxist tradition was from the beginning also the most relevant in China.

The growth and application of Marxist theory in China was in itself a dialectical process. At first, as just noted, interest in Marxism focused on its

workability in organizing for revolution. By the middle and late 1920s Marxist theory stimulated debate about the nature of Chinese society and effort to assess the potential for revolution arising out of the composition of classes in contemporary Chinese society. As the movement built strength in the late 1930s, it could begin to bend theory to fit practice. This is to say that its growing power made it possible for its leaders to claim a correct understanding of theory even when that was not necessarily true. Certainly the emphasis on nationalism was important in Chinese Marxism, a point generally accepted, and Mao should be credited for modifying theory to support peasant revolution. Both these points, however, illustrate practicality in adapting theory rather than adeptness at generating unerring theory.

It was appropriate that anarchism enjoyed its greatest appeal during a period when the goals of socialist revolution took shape as ideals. "Knowledge is difficult; action is easy." Chinese intellectuals' acceptance of this principle, even subconsciously, suggests how they could emphasize the study of theory over attention to organization. Although Shifu too was devoted to theory, he sought to establish an organizational nucleus as the basis for a mass movement. Yet his insight concerned much more than organization. Shifu's experience with authority led him to insist that social revolution was impossible unless all authority was eliminated. These experiences also served as the basis of Shifu's repeated critiques, in his prison writings as in his essays on anarchism, of the flawed character of the elite class. He was among the first to recognize the inadequacies of political revolution. Mao Zedong would put the need for cultural change in terms of a mountain to be moved; this image suggests the size of a task that some observers today regard as basic and barely commenced. All societies have their patterns of behavior so entrenched as to be unrecognizable to all but the most perceptive observers. Shifu was among the first to recognize those patterns of behavior in China and to offer a solution.

Ways Out of Anarchism

As there were various routes in to anarchism, there also were various ways out. It is worthwhile to chart the ways out taken by those who joined this movement that could not succeed but also would never quite go away. Shifu's early death spared him from the kinds of choices that such senior anarchists as Wu Zhihui faced in the late 1920s. It enabled him to serve as a model for idealistic youths for at least a decade after his lifetime. While I have suggested how Shifu might have behaved had he lived longer, obviously this remains speculation.

Zhang Taiyan's exit from anarchism calls for an accounting, even though he was one of the few individuals of whom the term "flirtation" is correctly used and was never an anarchist. Zhang tried out other enthusiasms both before and after the year or so when he considered anarchism.¹⁰ Zhang saw the same truth

that his nemesis Wu Zihui saw, that human nature would have to evolve for another millennium before it might be good enough to allow the principles of anarchism to function. Yet while Wu accepted anarchism, Zhang's intellectual integrity caused him to set it aside, because he concluded that it simply could not work in the living society of the present. And Zhang looked elsewhere in his quest for a viable system of belief.

As they showed the way in to anarchism, the senior generation also established the standard way out. This was to join another movement that appeared willing to tolerate the anarchists and their principles. As he left so early, it is easy to forget that Liu Shipei's exit was of this kind. Deciding to work for the Manchus limited Liu's anarchist ideas to his own mental realm; those ideas appear to have become part of the rationalization for his behavior.¹¹ Rationalization often involves self-deception. This surely was the case when Wu Zihui and his associates in the Paris group cast their lot with the Guomindang in 1927.¹² To a committed anarchist this was simply a sellout. Yet Wu Zihui had moved toward this position gradually and in response to changing circumstances in which his options grew ever more limited. However, to ally with a force so immediately deceptive and drenched in the blood of others indicates a serious level of self-deception. The decisions made in 1927 by Wu and the other senior anarchists linked them to opposition to communism for the remainder of their lives. It also linked them inextricably to Jiang Jieshi's increasingly unimaginative and dictatorial leadership.¹³

One of the most candid comments any anarchist made about his departure from activism is found in the pseudonym "Two Extremes" (*liangji*) adopted by Liang Bingxian. He meant this name to indicate his enthusiasm for anarchist principles, but also to reflect his fear of putting his life on the line in a revolutionary's career.¹⁴ (Knowledge is difficult, action is easy?) Whether under the Guomindang administrative structure or by other means, probably the largest number of active anarchists pursued academic careers. Liang Bingxian was one of these. Huang Lingshuang, one of the most forthright anarchists of the late 1910s and early 1920s, made a gradual transition to a scholarly career. He went to the Soviet Union in 1921-22, and then had an opportunity to go to the United States to study at Columbia University. Returning to China in 1928, he began teaching at the Shanghai Labor University, then over the years taught at several other institutions. He admired the work of sociologist Pitirim Sorokin, whose works he translated into Chinese. Like many other old anarchists, Huang undertook tasks that blended his academic interests with support for the Nationalist government, especially as that government's crises mounted. During these mature years, Huang used the name Wenshan. He left China after 1949 and taught for many years in universities in the United States and Hong Kong.¹⁵ Such transitions from social activist to social scientist were common; perhaps this phenomenon too reflects the broad appeal of science.

The later experience of most anarchists in the academic world, and their departure from revolutionary activity, would seem to support Shifu's view that it is not education but consciousness that is critical. Wu Zihui, Li Shizeng, and Cai Yuanpei among the senior anarchists all emphasized the need for education, and educational projects increasingly became the focus of their activity both before and after becoming absorbed in the Guomindang. Their willingness to accept the establishment of the Shanghai Labor University upon formal entry into the GMD seems an appropriate symbol for this emphasis. To their credit, much in the educational work of Wu Zihui and the senior anarchists emphasized practical matters such as vocational and technological training, and the ongoing transformation of education was indeed a tremendous task.¹⁶

Shifu's Relevance for China Today

A generation ago, Shifu seemed most important as an early advocate of extreme social revolution, a figure who suggested to Chairman Mao the outlines of "people's revolution."¹⁷ As developments in China have moved on to different themes, it has been surprising to see that he is relevant in other ways even more basic. Today, Shifu appears as a beacon of individual integrity and as a perceptive critic of capricious authority.

Integrity, the wholeness of the individual person, must stand as the key to Shifu's character and career. From the beginning of his efforts to contribute to constructive change in Chinese society, Shifu addressed the problems caused by an elite without integrity. As he looked for ways to advance the anti Manchu cause, he chose assassination as his own task. Here was the best opportunity for the *zhishi*, the individual willing to make personal sacrifices. This theme also found expression in his prison essays, in which he admonished other young idealists to be progressive in substance and not just in style, and to pursue careers that would advance society as well as oneself. In his last years, his devotion to providing a personal example of his principles marks the culminating expression of this characteristic.

An individual's greatest strength might prove in its obverse to be a weakness of some consequence. So it was with Shifu, for in his uncompromising devotion to principles he sometimes appears less than comfortably human in relationships with other people, most notably in his alliance with Ding Xiangtian. Shifu had his principles in that relationship as in everything else he did, but his application of principles in that instance casts other of his ideals as harsh and unfeeling.¹⁸ Yet he always applied his principles most stringently to himself, near the end of his life even refusing foods that might have provided strength to resist tuberculosis. Genuinely righteous individuals seldom appear; when one does appear, we should see his excesses in perspective.

Shifu's claims to freedom of conscience and freedom of expression are relevant to today's China. He asserted the importance of individual freedom in

many ways. His vision of an anarchist society rested on the belief that autonomous individuals acting together can achieve an ideal community. He believed that the individual should be free from all forms of authority, whether at the level of the family or from the highest levels of power in society. Shifu demonstrated that claims to freedom must be asserted and that individuals must be prepared to sacrifice for the rights they hope to enjoy. To portray him only as the apostle of anarchism is to overlook another simpler role, in which he made some of his most important achievements: Shifu was a publicist in the early Republic; freedom of expression and of action were vital in order to present his views and to organize those who responded. He experienced persecution in asserting these freedoms. Fleeing Guangzhou to avoid reprisals following the Second Revolution, he proclaimed, "We are marching on!" He castigated Yuan Shikai for the executions of Chen Yilong and Sha Gan. His relocation to Shanghai was of major importance, as it marked his decision to remain in China and fight for his cause. He refused to be silent.

Shifu's understanding of freedom seems especially Chinese; in this respect it may serve as a model for other societies, especially the notion of freedom as unchecked expression of individual wishes that is gaining acceptance in the United States today. Anarchism has its own spectrum, from libertarianism on the right to anarchist-communism on the left. The former sees absolute individual freedom from control by the state as essential to the social order. The latter was the anarchism of Kropotkin and Shifu; this is anarchism with an ineradicable social consciousness, which places individual freedom in the context of responsibility to others in society, although not to the state. Beginning with Proudhon, European anarchists had distrusted and rejected liberal politics, which they saw as the source of basic failure in the French Revolution and as an easy mark for control by the wealthy. This aspect of the European background did not serve Chinese anarchists well, because it allowed them to overlook issues concerned with processes by which freedom could be protected. But without question, Shifu had a strong sense of freedom in society: "If others are not free, I am not free" he said, echoing Bakunin as he commenced his anarchist mission.

Shifu believed that individual freedom could release energy and creativity to build good community. As shown, his sense of community is best described by the term *organic*. This sense is communicated well through his belief that the people's revolution would occur when society was sufficiently permeated by a consciousness of the principles of anarchist communism. While Shifu would not have denied that the individual was responsible for his or her own morality, he was certain that the moral level of society would improve, and could be maintained at a higher level, after the anarchist social revolution. In sum, a society of free individuals liberated from those fetters of authority that had bound them in all earlier periods of Chinese history, could develop as an organism and achieve ever more of human potentiality. Shifu also believed that change in society may be accomplished through a leavening process rather than

under command; this was his chief complaint about Marxist statism. This resonates with the Confucian understanding as to how social change comes about. It also became an underlying issue in the struggles between anarchists and communists during the 1920s, and in the internal development of the CCP in the same period.¹⁹

It seems fitting to close by repeating a statement made at the beginning: Anarchists believe that their principles reside in the soul of every human. Shifu sought to build a movement on this idea. If he were to revisit China today, I feel sure he would resume his unstinting efforts to spread the truth of anarchism. He would be encouraged by the efforts many people are making to circumvent a government that, despite many achievements, too often displays the flaws of a perverted state socialism. He could readily see that those in authority remain apprehensive about the teachings of anarchism, as they still seek to supervise the masses in countless ways. He would urge all to think of the common good and to behave more often in ways that would advance it, still seek to build that consciousness that would erupt one day in the "great people's revolution." Surely Shifu has been watching developments in China and elsewhere from the socialists' heaven, and we may suppose that he is planning with other socialists how, when the next great tide of socialism rises in the world—decades from now, perhaps, or a century—they all will find a way to end their earlier differences and pool their ideals and their practice for the great revolution. Perhaps together they could succeed. At least they might reduce by a few centuries the time it will take to actualize those great principles that live in the soul of every human.

Notes

Abbreviations Used in the Notes

Full publication data for the items listed here are found in the bibliography. Underscored letters indicate composition of abbreviations.

BDRC Biographical Dictionary of Republican China. 1967-71.

CQCB *Shehui zhuyi xueshuo zai Zhongguo chugqi chuanbo* (The initial period of propagating socialism in China). 1984.

GMYS Feng Ziyu. *Geming yishi*. (Anecdotal history of the revolution). 1965 edition.

Huang, HYSF Huang Zunsheng (Juansheng). *Huiyi Shifu* (Recollections of Shifu).

Mo, HYSF Mo Jipeng. *Huiyi Shifu* (Recollections of Shifu).

MS *Min Sheng* (Voice of the People), ed. Shifu and others.

QKJS *Wusi Shiqi qikan jieshao*. (Introduction to the periodicals of the May Fourth period). 1979.

SFWC *Shifu wencun* (Collected writings of Shifu).

SLXJ *Xinhai geming qian shiniannian shilun yuanji* (Selected articles representative of the decade before the Revolution of 1911). 1960-62.

WSNWX *Zhonghua Minguo kaiguo wushixinian wenxian* (Documents on the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of China). 1962-65.

WZZG	<i>Wuzhengfu zhuyi zai Zhongguo</i> (Anarchism in China). 1984.
XQN	<i>Xin qingnian</i> (New Youth). 1916-1923, reprinted.
ZLX	<i>Wuzhengfu zhuyi sixiang ziliao xuan</i> (Selected materials on anarchist thought). 1984.
ZZS	<i>Feng Ziyu. Zhongguo geming yundong ershiliu nian zuzhi shi</i> . (History of organizations in the twenty-six years of the Chinese revolutionary movement). 1948

Chapter 1

1. In the interest of avoiding repeated checking of notes while the reader proceeds through this initial overview of Shifu's life, I have dispensed with the usual notation format for this chapter only. We will return to most of the subjects in later chapters.

Several memoirs, and references in Feng Ziyu's *Geming yishi* (Vignette history of the revolution) and other general accounts of the anti-Manchu revolutionary movement, suggest the outlines of Shifu's life. These sources provide little detailed information about the years before the assassination attempt in 1907. For example, there is no information on Liu Sifu's early schooling. There are two important groups of his writings, the first his prison essays and the second the body of work produced for his journal *Min sheng*. As Liu Sifu the young revolutionary or as Shifu the anarchist, he wrote with strong, specific purpose, seldom revealing his feelings or what his experiences meant to him—a frustration for the biographer.

Mo Jipeng's memoir *Huiyi Shifu* (Recollections of Shifu) is comprehensive and useful. Liu Shixin included sections on his older brother's life in his own "Bits of Reminiscences on Anarchist Activities" (*Wuzhengfu zhuyi huodong de didian huiyi*), in ZLX, 926-939. Additional information is found in the reminiscences of Shifu's brother-in-law, Zheng Peigang, "Certain Historical Facts on Anarchism in China" (*Wuzhengfu zhuyi zai Zhongguo de ruogan shishi*), also in ZLX, 939-71. Huang Zunsheng's memoir, also entitled *Huiyi Shifu*, is the source of details on the Esperanto movement in Guangzhou.

Liu's experiences while in Japan are noted in *Geming wenxian* (Documents on the Revolution) (3 vols., Taipei: Guomindang History Committee, 1958) and in Saneto Keishu, *Zhongguoren youxue Riben shi* (A history of Chinese students in Japan) (Chinese tr. by Tam Yue-him and Lam Kai-yin from Saneto's Japanese original) (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1982). Surveys of the materials on radical ideologies available to Chinese students in Japan are in Don C. Price, *Russia and the Roots of the Chinese Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 122-29; Martin Bernal, *Chinese Socialism to 1907* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), ch. 8; and Peter Zarrow, *Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), ch. 2. Zhang Binglin's roles in scholarship, the "national essence" movement, and the revolutionary movement are discussed in Shimada Kenji, *Pioneer of*

the Chinese Revolution: Zhang Binglin and Confucianism (tr. Joshua A. Fogel, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

Liu's activities in late 1906 and early 1907 are outlined in Feng Ziyu's sketch in vol. 2 of *Geming yishi*; Feng's account of Liu's abortive assassination attempt appears in his *Zhonghua Minguo kaiguo qian geming shi* (History of the Revolution to Establish the Republic) (Taipei, 1971 reprint), vol. 2, 84-101. Other details of this episode are given in the memoirs by Mo Jipeng and Liu Shixin. Huang Xing's meeting with Liu in Wuzhou is reported in Xie Yingbo's autobiography, *Renhai hangcheng* (Voyage on the sea of life) (unpublished manuscript), 6b; this meeting is also mentioned in Li Yunhan, *Huang Keqiang xiansheng nianpu* (Chronology of Mr. Huang Keqiang [Xing]) (Taipei, 1974), 97. Wu Yue's testament appeared in a special edition of *Min bao* entitled *Tian tao* (Heaven's Vengeance), which followed no. 12 and was published April 25, 1907; the testament is reprinted in SLXJ, vol. 2, pt. 1, 714-33.

Liu's prison writings were reprinted in *Zhongshan wenxian* (Documents of Zhongshan) (Zhongshan [formerly Xiangshan], Guangdong, 1947), 99-111. Edited and punctuated by Zhang Lei of the Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences, these essays have been reprinted more recently in *Zhongguo zhixue* (Chinese philosophy), journal of the Research Group on Chinese Thought of the History Institute, Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing; see no. 12, 506-19, and no. 13, 339-53.

Li Xibin, a member of Liu's China Assassination Corps, wrote more than one account of this group. Most useful is "Qingmo Zhina ansha tuan jishi" (A true account of the China Assassination Corps of the late Qing period) in *Guangdong wenwu teji* (A special collection on the culture of Guangdong) (Hong Kong, 1949), 17-23.

Mo Jipeng's memoir is most helpful for the period when Mo worked directly with Liu in the revolutionary armies in Guangdong, and with Shifu in organizing the Conscience Society and launching the group's activities in Guangzhou. Mo writes of the deteriorating relationship between Shifu and Ding Xiangtian with candor and sensitivity.

I have been able to obtain copies of two of the anthologies produced in 1912-13; see the notes to ch. 7 for full data on these. Publication figures for all of these early materials appeared in the revived *Min sheng* years after Shifu's death; see no. 30 (March 15, 1921), Esperanto-English edition, 4-5.

Min sheng is the major repository of Shifu's published work. Numbers 1 and 2 were published at Guangzhou on Aug. 20 and 27, 1913, under the title *Huiming lu*. The title was changed beginning with the issues published at Macao, nos. 3 and 4, Dec. 20 and 27. Numbers 5 through 22, all under Shifu's editorship, were published weekly from April 11 to August 9, 1914. Shifu's associates produced nos. 23 through 29 at Shanghai on an irregular basis during 1915 and 1916. Some of the same faithful group revived the journal in Guangzhou during 1921, when *Min sheng* presented the anarchist position as debate and competition began between themselves and the Marxists; these were nos. 30-33, the last dated July 15, 1921. All of Shifu's major articles and a selection of his published replies to correspondents were reprinted in *Shifu wencun* (Writings of Shifu) edited by Zheng Peigang and published in 1927. See the bibliography for data on reprint editions.

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Chapter 2

1. See David Apter's essay in the volume he edited with James Joll, *Anarchism Today* (London: Macmillan, 1971), 1-2.
2. For discussion of anarchist precedents as early as medieval times and during the Reformation, see James Joll's introduction to *The Anarchists* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1964), 18-27.
3. Kropotkin saw precedents for anarchism in the Hussite movement and in the Anabaptists; among the latter he mentions Hans Denk. These references occur in his article on anarchism for the 1910 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, reprinted in Roger N. Baldwin, ed., *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets* (New York: Dover reprint), 288-89.
4. George Woodcock, *Anarchism* (Cleveland: Meridian, 1962), 44-49.
5. In *Anarchism*, Woodcock provides a useful introduction to the careers of the several anarchist leaders outlined below, as does James Joll in *The Anarchists*. Woodcock's *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon: His Life and Work* (New York: Schocken, 1956) is a full-length biography.
6. However, Proudhon drew distinctions between various kinds of property.
7. Paul Thomas, *Karl Marx and the Anarchists* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), 206-7, points out two other items in Marx's letter that also would have offended Proudhon: Marx observed that Proudhon's reputation outside France was greater than in France itself, which was neither true nor something Proudhon cared to hear, as he most sought to have influence in his own country. Marx also disparaged Proudhon's German friend, Karl Grun, which offended Proudhon. (This work cited hereafter as "Thomas.")
8. Proudhon had been extremely active during the Revolution. Between 1848 and 1850 he published several different newspapers that were extremely popular among workers.
- Although he opposed parliaments, Proudhon stood for and won election to the assembly launched with the Second Republic in 1848. He hoped to get legislation passed to launch one of his projects, a People's Bank. The Bank was indeed established, but it lasted only a short time.
- Proudhon was imprisoned for his outspoken attacks on the president, Louis Napoleon. Under relaxed conditions for political prisoners, he was allowed to write while in jail. He also married during his imprisonment.
9. Quoted in Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 134-35.
10. See "The Founders of Anarchism" (*Wuzhengfu zhuiyi zhi yuanzu*), MS no. 13 (June 6, 1914), 2. Shifu made a similar comment in no. 12 (May 30, 1914), 8.
11. See Dirlit, *Anarchism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 271-76, for Li Shizeng's efforts to apply Proudhon's principle of federalism as he and other first-generation anarchists cast their lot with the Guomindang in 1927-28.
- Of Proudhon's other later works, two should be mentioned: *War and Peace* presented the anti-militarist theme that remained a basic point in anarchism. Leo Tolstoy visited Proudhon after reading this work, which became the inspiration for Tolstoy's novel of the same title. See Woodcock, *Proudhon*, 229. In *Justice in the Revolution and the Church*, Proudhon argued for a concept of justice based on human nature rather than on the notion of a divinity who would punish those who fail to comply.

12. For comments on Proudhon's views of women, see Woodcock, *Proudhon*, 31-35, 213-15. Proudhon's feelings on women grew out of his own background and experience. He saw much to admire in women, but his views were never expressed in terms of women's social equality with men. Proudhon also appears inconsistent in his support for the South in the American Civil War, despite its institution of slavery. He was attracted to the federative principle in the political organization of the Confederacy.

13. Thomas, *Marx and the Anarchists*, 193-94, lists at least fifteen of Marx's works, more than half of them major efforts such as *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* and the *Grundrisse*, in which Marx attacks Proudhon's socialism. "The length of this list," Thomas comments, "is a tribute to the resilience of Proudhonism." (194).

14. In *Marx and the Anarchists*, Thomas discusses Marxists' tendency to use the tag of "bourgeois idealism" without reviewing Marx's analytical reasons for choosing the term, see his postscript to the chapter on Proudhon, 245-48.

15. The statement came from an article that Bakunin wrote for the 1842 edition of the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, cited in Thomas, *Marx and the Anarchists*, 289.

16. During this period at the Peter and Paul fortress Bakunin wrote a confession to the tsar, for which his detractors—Marx among them—have criticized him for bending to the latter's will. If this confession was intended to produce a pardon, it did not have the desired effect: a transfer to Siberia in 1857 was as much pardon as the tsar saw fit to give.

17. For Bakunin's escape via Japan, see Philip Billingsley, "Bakunin, Yokohama, and the Dawning of the Pacific Era," forthcoming (September 1998) in *International History Review*. Prof. Billingsley kindly provided me a copy of his study.

18. For Bakunin's role in the initiative to Spain, see Joll, *The Anarchists*, 111-12.

19. Thomas devotes ch. 5 to the subject of Marx and Bakunin in the International. On the organization's beginnings see *Marx and the Anarchists*, 255-56.

20. Thomas, *Marx and the Anarchists*, 265.

21. Thomas, *Marx and the Anarchists*, 254-55.

22. At the congress of the International in 1869, the General Council (headquartered at London) was voted the power to decide on meeting sites and to certify delegates. Bakunin had supported this expansion of the Council's authority, a point contradicting Marx's belief that Bakunin was engaged in a conspiracy to break up the organization. Through these powers Marx packed the Hague congress with delegates who favored his positions. The International's activities came to an end on the issue of whether to move its headquarters from London to New York. This was a parliamentary device also set up by Marx, who by that time saw no future for the organization. For these details see Thomas, *Marx and the Anarchists*, 265.

23. Thomas, *Marx and the Anarchists*, 249-55.

24. Bakunin stated these views in *Statism and Anarchy* (1874), his post-mortem on the death of the International.

25. Thomas discusses *Statism and Anarchy* and Marx's reaction to it, *Marx and the Anarchists*, 336-40.

26. This view seems to overlook the centralist approach that Lenin developed in the Bolshevik Party. Lenin's choice might reflect that he belonged to the next generation of Russian revolutionaries and had learned from the difficulties of his predecessors. It also might be seen as a manifestation of the need for authority that clearly also was part

of Russian tradition, most fully developed in the imperialist institution. This tension between the need for authority and an extreme reaction to authority in the demand for freedom shows in many ways also in modern China.

Thomas, *Marx and the Anarchists*, 299-300, notes this same tension in Bakunin himself, observing that Bakunin's preference for secret organizations (which sometimes existed mostly in his own head) might simply have reflected his desire for control.

27. Thomas, *Marx and the Anarchists*, 278-79, addresses the growth of this concept of "collectivism" and observes that it reflected the decline of Proudhonist influence in the International. On the development of this trend see also Max Nomad, "The Anarchist Tradition," in Milorad M. Drachkovitch, ed., *The Revolutionary Internationals* (Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1966), 61-62.

28. Thomas, *Marx and the Anarchists*, 310-11; cf. Joll, *The Anarchists*, 103-4. Also see Nomad, "Anarchist Tradition," 59-69.

29. For a variation on Ba Jin's explanation of the name, see the introduction to Peng Shuzhi, *Wuzhengfu zhuoyi zhi fu. Bakunin* (The Father of Anarchism, Bakunin) (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1988), 21. Peng says that, according to Ba Jin, the character Ba was the surname of a close friend among his fellow students in France; but Ba Jin readily acknowledges the influence of Bakunin as well as Kropotkin, whom he does give as the source for "Jin." This does not square with earlier explanations of the name, and surely is a simple compromise Ba Jin has made. On some other, more important issues, Ba Jin has not compromised with the current form of autocracy in China.

30. Kropotkin was first associated with the newspaper *Avant-garde*, which was suppressed in 1878. Much later, during his extended stay in England, he helped to establish the journal *Freedom*, and was one of its major contributors.

31. After his deportation from Switzerland, Kropotkin went first to France, then to England for a year. The timing of his return to France was unfortunate, because it came just as this roundup began. Had Kropotkin actually been in close contact with anarchists in France, he would not have returned when he did.

Kropotkin's imprisonment provoked general outrage. Victor Hugo presented a petition on his behalf from prominent British intellectuals to the president of France. Georges Clemenceau introduced a motion for amnesty in the French assembly, attracting much support. However, all such efforts failed to achieve Kropotkin's release. The deterioration of his health and a continuing public outcry finally brought his release. For additional details on the episode see Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 207-9.

32. Olga Lang has noted Ba Jin's reaction to reading Kropotkin's "Appeal to Youth." See *Pa Chin and His Writings: Chinese Youth between the Two Revolutions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 44.

33. Kropotkin's "Letter to the Workers of Western Europe" bears quoting for its prescient observations: "[I]f Allied military intervention continues, it will certainly develop in Russia a bitter feeling toward the western nations, a feeling which will be used some day in future conflicts.... The natural territories of the various parts of this federation are quite distinct, as those of us familiar with Russian history and ethnography well know. All efforts to reunite under a central control the naturally separate parts of the Russian Empire are predestined to failure." (Quoted from the reprint of this letter in Baldwin, *Pamphlets*, 253-4.)

34. Thomas A. Metzger has defined these problems in *Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977). While one might disagree on various points in his argument, Metzger's view of the line of development is persuasive.

Hao Chang shares Metzger's view on the optimism of late-Qing intellectuals, identifying it by the term "cosmic dynamism." See Chang's *Chinese Intellectuals in Crisis: Search for Order and Meaning* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 50-54, 58-59, 82-83.

35. For insight into the development of *ti-yong* thought, see the essays of the Korean sinologist Min Tu-ki, *National Polity and Local Power: The Transformation of Late Imperial China*, ed. Philip A. Kuhn and Timothy Brook (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), especially 'Chinese Principle' and Western 'Utility', a Reassessment."

36. Thomas Metzger has made this point about the need for system in a paper, "Oppositional Politics and the Problem of Secularization in Modern China," presented at the conference on Oppositional Politics in Twentieth-Century China, held at Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, in September 1990.

37. However, Hao Chang and others have noted the radical critique of traditional culture in the thought of Kang Youwei and especially Tan Sitong; see Chang, *Chinese Intellectuals in Crisis*, 59-62, 94-103.

38. The issue of relative importance of internal as opposed to external influences in stimulating thinking about change has re-emerged repeatedly, and even today enters into debates on questions of an underlying system of beliefs ("New Confucianism") or the nature of socialism ("socialism with Chinese characteristics").

39. See David S. Nivison, "The Problem of 'Knowledge' and 'Action' in Chinese Thought since Wang Yang-ming," in *Studies in Chinese Thought*, Arthur F. Wright, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

40. Both quotations from Nivison, "Problem," 135.

41. "Oh! People! What do you hesitate for?" Nivison quotes Sun as saying, "Problem," 137.

42. See Nivison, "Problem," 139-40. Metzger also concluded that much of Mao's success in mobilizing the undereducated peasant mass lay in his claim to possess knowledge verified through this process and that Mao also satisfied the need for authority. See the concluding sections of *Escape from Predicament*.

43. Agnes Chan noted Shifu's views on the role of the talented in "Shifu and the Radicalization of Chinese Revolutionary Thought," 159-61. Statements on this point appear in MS [Huiming Lu] no. 1, 5.

44. Douglas Reynolds has portrayed the late Qing reform, with its broad assistance from official and private resources in Japan, in its most positive aspect. See *China, 1898-1912: The Xinheng Revolution and Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

45. Chan Sin-wai, *Buddhism in Late Ch'ing Political Thought* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1985), 159-62, suggests that this revived Buddhism had little to offer as the basis for a popular movement. Yet the careers of Tan, Zhang, and Shifu suggest the influence of new Buddhism as presented by talented and devoted leaders.

46. See Paul G. Clifford, "The Intellectual Development of Wu Zihui: A Reflection of Society and Politics in Late Qing and Republican China" (Ph.D dissertation, University of London, 1978), 39. Clifford cites a memoir by Xiao Yu in a

commemorative volume on Li Shizeng published in 1973. Such a source should be treated with caution, in my opinion, as the memoirist might have had reason to give the impression that Wu's later view was consistent with such an initial reaction.

47. For these personal connections refer to Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 73, 80-81, and Dirlik, *Anarchism*, 25, 81.

48. Apparently the pictorial format was very expensive, and cost was an important factor in the decision to produce a different kind of journal. Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 77, notes the group's decision to make the journal small enough to fit into a seamen's bedding. From the start they envisaged a partly clandestine distribution system.

49. Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 81.

50. Vera Schwarcz and others have shown the applicability of the term *Enlightenment* for the New Culture and May Fourth period. However, the outlook of the Paris anarchists and their themes for cultural revolution, mark them as among the predecessors for those movements of the late 1910s.

51. While Wu and Zhang became adversaries on cultural issues at this point, their differences were rooted in their respective responses to the "Subao case" in 1903. They had worked together on that journal, but when the government moved against the *Subao* group, Wu fled to Japan while Zhang chose to go to prison. For Wu this was the beginning of the sojourns abroad that took him first to England and then to his involvement with the *New Century* group. For Zhang, much in this debate was about integrity, his concern about Chinese cultural integrity an extension of his rigorous sense of personal integrity. What use is it to be able to converse in a universal language, Zhang asked, if it is no longer one's true self who is attempting to communicate? For a more detailed discussion of this debate, see Krebs, "Liu Ssu-fu and Chinese Anarchism, 1905-1915," 208-18.

52. In his *Anarchism*, ch. 2, Peter Zarrow provides a masterful interpretation of Liu Shipei's intellectual development, and also discusses Zhang Taiyan's thinking during this period.

53. Shimada, *Zhang Binglin*, 71-73, suggests that Zhang took inspiration from the earlier Japanese movement, but that he first got the idea for "national studies" during his imprisonment before 1905. The term "national studies" (Ch. *guoxue*, J. *kokugaku*) is sometimes used instead of "national essence"; however, the meaning of these two terms seems almost identical.

54. Min Tu-ki surveys this subject in an enlightening study, "The Theory of Political Feudalism in the Ch'ing Period," *National Polity and Local Power*, 89-136.

55. Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 102-04. Zhu Zhixin had previously presented an abridged version of the *Manifesto* in *Min bao*, for which see Bernal, *Chinese Socialism*, 116-18.

56. See Zarrow's *Anarchism*, ch. 6, "Women's Liberation and Anarcho-Feminism," and also his "He Zhen and Anarcho-Feminism in China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 47:4 (November 1988), 796-813.

57. This is a major theme of Young-tsu Wong's excellent study of Zhang, *Search for Modern Nationalism: Zhang Binglin and Revolutionary China, 1869-1936* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

58. This view of Zhang's position is presented in Charlotte Furth, "The Sage as Rebel: The Inner World of Chang Ping-lin," in *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 145-47. Also see Zarrow's discussion of Zhang's views, *Anarchism*, 48-52.

59. Zarrow presents the variety of views on Liu's turn against revolution and offers as good an explanation as I have seen. *Anarchism*, 32 and 269-70, notes 10 and 11.

60. One other person associated with the Tokyo group is sometimes overlooked: Jing Meiji (Dingcheng), a Shanxi intellectual, remained active as an anarchist at least into the 1920's (see below, ch. 10).

61. See Dirlik, *Anarchism*, ch. 7.

62. Arif Dirlik suggests that anarchist principles might lend themselves as well to counterrevolution as revolution (*Anarchism*, 80). I disagree with this suggestion, but certainly the behavior of some Chinese anarchists could support this view.

Chapter 3

1. I use the term "proto-anarchism" here largely as a convenient way to identify the mixture of ideas surveyed in this chapter. These came from varied but similar sources from abroad, as described below. They shared the themes of assassination and other forms of violence employed to achieve justice for the poor and powerless against the rich and mighty in society.

2. Two earlier studies are especially relevant to the material in this chapter. Price's *Russia and the Roots of the Chinese Revolution* provides great insight into the numerous ways by which developments in Russia influenced not only publicists such as Liang Qichao and activists such as Yang Dusheng, but also popular culture in China during the first years of the century.

As already noted, Peter Zarrow's *Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture* presents a masterful survey of the origins of anarchist thought in China. Zarrow's work is relevant here especially for its emphasis on Liu Shipei's use of elements of traditional Chinese thought rather than influences from abroad. My work on Shifu has focused on the relationship between revolutionary activism and anarchist ideas. Rather than intending to counter Zarrow's views, I offer this as another valid view of the entry of anarchism into the revolutionary tradition of modern China.

3. See Liang's "An explanation of ten qualities with opposing yet complementary meaning" (Shizhong dexing xiangfan xiangcheng yi), *Qingyi bao* no. 87 (1901), repr. SLXJ, vol. 1, pt. 1, 8-16. Also see Price, *Russia and the Chinese Revolution*, 107.

4. See Price's discussion, *Russia and the Chinese Revolution*, 128-36.

5. Bernal, *Chinese Socialism*, 94-97, describes four of the most important of these discussions of socialism. Also see Bernal's "The Triumph of Anarchism over Marxism, 1906-1907," in *China In Revolution: The First Phase, 1900-1913*, ed. Mary C. Wright (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 100-101.

6. Extensive excerpts of Fukui's book are reprinted in CQCB, 79-222. The material on Proudhon, with some references to Bakunin, is found in 139-47; an extensive discussion of "German socialism," dealing almost totally with Marx, follows, 147-79.

7. CQCB, 141.

8. CQCB, 145. A later section on Bakunin is not included in the material reprinted in CQCB. However, the reprinted material does include discussion of Bakunin's role in the demise of the International; see below.

9. CQCB, 148; compare Bernal, *Chinese Socialism*, 94-95.

10. CQCB, 159.

11. CQCB, 162. Especially in this quotation, Fukui presented a very different perception of Marx from that which Shifu would emphasize in 1913-14; see Chapters 8 and 9.

12. CQCB, 171.

13. Nihilism originated in the populist movement during the 1860s and was not a clearly defined ideology even in that context. See Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia* (tr. F. Haskell) (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), 325-26.

14. Yang's pamphlet, *New Hunan*, is reprinted in SLXJ, vol. 1, part 2, 612-48.

15. Yang, *New Hunan*, 637.

16. Yang, *New Hunan*, 641.

17. In these plots, Yang showed a preference for attacking the government at its center, contrary to the Huaxinghui strategy and to his own suggestion in *New Hunan*.

18. For other aspects of assassination activity during these years, see Edward S. Krebs, "Assassination in the Republican Revolutionary Movement," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 4:6 (December 1981).

19. Lin Shipei worked with Lin on this early *baihua* journal.

20. Although Lin Xie was quite active at this time, relatively little is known about him. Mary Rankin notes his Fujian background, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 68. In his opening publisher's statement for *Zhongguo baihua bao*, Lin mentions his earlier involvement in the Hangzhou *Baihua bao* (SLXJ, vol. 1, pt. 2, 605).

Lin's "Lun cike de jiaoyu" (The education of assassins) installment is reprinted in SLXJ, vol. 1, pt. 2, 912-18. *Cike* was the term most often used for "assassin" at the time; it was old indeed, having been introduced by Sima Qian in his chapter on assassins (*Shi ji* 86). See Burton Watson, *Early Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 101.

21. Lin, "Assassins," 913.

22. Lin, "Assassins," 914.

23. Lin, "Assassins," 916.

24. See the portions of Fukui's *Jinshi shehui zhuyi* reprinted in CQCB, 144-45 and 158-59.

25. Lin, "Assassins," 912-14.

26. See "Minzu zhuyi zhi jiaoyu" (Education for Nationalism), which appeared in *Youxue yibian* in September 1903; reprinted in SLXJ, vol. 1, pt. 1, 404-10. The reference to these three groups is on p. 409. The author does not maintain that "lower-class society" is ripe for revolution, but calls for their transformation through education so that their potential for revolution can be realized. Price, *Russia and the Chinese Revolution*, 149, notes this point on the "lower classes" and states the opinion that Yang is the author.

27. This table presented nine assassinations (of a much larger number), beginning with the assassination of Alexander II in 1881 and including four since 1900. For the quotations and tables, see Lin, "Assassins," 916-18. Although Lin's inclusion of Danton and the Jacobins failed to distinguish between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century advocates of extreme methods, most of the quotations were from more recent "nihilists" and "anarchists." The list included late nineteenth century episodes from Europe and Russia. The United States was represented by Leon Czolgosz, who had killed President

William McKinley in 1901; Germany, Austria, Italy, and Spain also were represented in the table.

28. Lin, "Assassins," 918.
29. A translation of Sima Qian's biography of Yu Rang appears in Burton Watson, *Early Chinese Literature*, 101-3.
30. From the Warring States period Lin also mentioned Chu Ni, who killed a prince at court with a wooden staff; Zhuang Zhu and Yao Li, of the state of Wu, who respectively assassinated the tyrannical ruler of Wu and his son; and two other assassins, Nie Zheng and Zhu Hai.
31. Liu made this appeal to history in "The Advantages of Extremism" (*Lun jilie de haochu*), SLXJ, vol. 1, pt. 2, 887-90. Peter Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 38, notes that this article suggests Liu Shipei's early inclinations toward anarchism, especially in urging destruction as a feature of extremism. Liu and Lin also collaborated on a discussion of Rousseau's *Social Contract* at this time; see Martin Bernal, "Liu Shih-p'ei and National Essence," in *The Limits of Change*, Charlotte Furth, ed., 90-112.
32. Tan Sitong is the focus of Chan Sin-wai's *Buddhism in Late Ch'ing Political Thought*. For further detail on Tan's death, see pp. 74-75. Chan discusses the strong Buddhist elements in Tan's thinking in Part II of this study.
33. Tan, Zhang, and Liu Shipei are the subjects of separate chapters in Hao Chang, *Chinese Intellectuals in Transition*.
34. Qu Yuan's place in China's history and political culture is the theme of Laurence Schneider's *A Madman of Ch'u: The Chinese Myth of Loyalty and Dissent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). Schneider discusses the appeal of this lore in the early years of this century, 87-94.
35. *Kakumei hyoron* (repr. Tokyo, 1962), no. 6, 1. The article, "Ansatsu to jisatsu" (Assassination and Suicide) was written under the pseudonym "Gai ju." *Kakumei hyoron*, which was devoted to boosting Sun Yatsen and the Tongmenghui, published a great deal of material on the Russian revolutionary movement.
36. Lee Feigon, *Chen Duxiu: Founder of the Chinese Communist Party* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 56-57 and 75-80. One of Chen's closest associates during this period was Su Manshu, the eccentric Sino-Japanese literatus. Su himself found populist activism highly appealing, and in his monk's persona he resided at Baiyun Cloister (*Baiyun an*) on West Lake, where Liu Sifu and his colleagues would hold their retreat in early 1912.
37. This statement appeared in *Minbao*, no. 3 (April 5, 1906).
38. The *Tian tao* (Heaven's Vengeance) edition followed no. 12 and was published April 25, 1907. The testament is reprinted in SLXJ, vol. 2, pt. 1, 714-733, cited herein.
39. Wu, "Vengeance," 715.
40. Wu, "Vengeance," 718.
41. Wu, "Vengeance," 719.
42. Wu, "Vengeance," 716.
43. Song's discussions appeared in no. 3 (April 5, 1906) and no. 7 (September 5, 1906). Drawn from reports in the Tokyo *Nichi-nichi shimbun*, Song's articles pointed out that the methods of Russian revolutionaries included violence, assassination, and general strikes. These articles became the basis of a debate between *Minbao* and Liang Qichao's *Xinmin congbo*. As shown above, Liang had earlier written favorably of "destruction"

and assassination; by 1906, however, Liang had withdrawn his endorsement of violence. For discussion of this debate, see Price, *Russia and the Chinese Revolution*, 152-53.

Liao Zhongkai's "Xuwu dang xiaoshi" (Short History of the Nihilist Party) also appeared in two installments, no. 11 (January 25, 1907) and no. 17 (October 25, 1907). This was an abridgment of Kemuyama Sentaro's earlier book.

Yet another article on the same general subject was "Sufeiya zhuan" (Biography of Sophia), by a writer named "Wushou" in no. 15 (July 5, 1907). This was one of many pieces lionizing Perovskaya, who had taken part in the assassination of Alexander II in 1881.

44. Of a total of seventy-five illustrations used in the twenty-six issues of *Min bao*, thirty depicted these subjects.

45. In his autobiography, "Renhai hangcheng" (Voyage on the Sea of Life), 6b, Xie Yingbo records the beginning of his friendship with Liu at the Wuzhou school, which was called the China Academy (Zhonghua xuetang). Professor Zhang Pengyuan of Academia Sinica in Taipei kindly provided me a copy of the Xie memoir, a manuscript, referred to hereafter as "Xie autobiography."

46. For Huang Xing's visit, see Xie autobiography, 6b; Xie is the source for an entry in Li Yunhan, *Huang Keqiang xiansheng nianpu*, 97.

47. Feng Ziyou, ZJS, 116.

48. Xie autobiography, 7a; also see Feng, GMYS, vol. 2, 203.

49. A basic account of the background and attempt to carry out Liu's mission is in Feng, GMYS, vol. 2, 204-5.

50. Feng, GMYS, vol. 2, 204, suggests that both Liu and Wang were willing to undertake a mission, but that Liu was both practiced in the use of explosives and prepared to sacrifice himself.

51. On Li Jitang see Feng, KGQS, vol. 1, 121; compare Mo, HYSF, 19a.

52. Besides Zhang Gushan, mentioned below, Zhu Zhixin and Zhang Boqiao also served as assistants in this plan. Feng, GMYS, vol. 2, 204.

53. Mo, HYSF, 9a; the letters are not extant, evidently having been lost in the confusion following the incident.

54. Feng, KGQS, vol. 2, 87.

55. Mo, HYSF, 11b-12a.

56. Mo, HYSF, 9b, notes the use of this alias. Liu was identified by his own name in a report in the Shanghai *Shen bao* of August 1, 1907; see WSNWX, ser. 1, vol. 13, 635.

57. Mo, HYSF, 13b-14a.

58. Ding might have visited with Liu face-to-face once or twice during this period. She sent him suggestions about a plan to escape, but he rejected the idea. See Liu Shixin memoir, ZLX, 928-29.

59. ZLX, 928-29.

60. Chen had just returned from a trip abroad in summer 1909. He enlisted the help of Jiang Kongyin, another prominent gentry figure, in arranging for Liu's release.

Chapter 4

1. More recently the essays have been edited and punctuated by Zhang Lei of the Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences and reprinted in *Zhongguo zhixue* (Chinese

philosophy), a journal of the Philosophy Department of Beijing University (hereafter abbreviated as "ZGX"). The essays appear in no. 12 (1984), 506-19, and no. 13 (1985), 339-53. Zhang was able to determine the dates of publication in *Xiangshan xunkan*, and in this reprinting he also punctuated the essays. As this is the most recent version of the essays and is as generally accessible as the earlier reprintings, citations here are from the *Zhongguo zhixue* reprinting unless otherwise indicated.

2. *Zhongshan wenxian* (hereafter abbreviated as "ZSWX"), 99.

3. Ch'u Tung-tsui describes these petty functionaries in *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 62-63. On privileged treatment for the advantaged while in prison, see Derk Bodde and Clarence Morris, *Law in Imperial China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 106-7.

4. Liu Shixin specifically mentions taking copies of *New Century* to Sifu while he was in jail, ZLX, 929.

5. Benjamin A. Elman's *From Philosophy to Philology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), provides a sophisticated discussion of the flow of development in late Ming and Qing scholarship and thought. For an overview of the development of *kaozheng*, see pp. 38-46; for comments on *Hantue*, see pp. 44, 59.

6. This was a time, like the present, when scholars employed the slogan "seek truth from facts" (*shishi qiu shi*). Elman notes the use of this slogan, *Philosophy to Philology*, 45, 239.

7. For these developments see Elman, *Philosophy to Philology*, ch. 6.

8. Elman, *Philosophy to Philology*, 237-239. Elman here deals with the relationship between the New Text as a movement in scholarship and the "statecraft" movement, and concludes that for many there was a political element to New Text scholarship. He also observes that the direct-line relationship that has generally been assumed between Wei Yuan and Gong Zizhen of the early nineteenth century and Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao at the end of the century has fostered the notion that from its beginning, the New Text movement had practical political goals. Elman notes that Liang Qichao's *Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period* was primarily responsible for this assumption. He suggests that while that relationship did indeed exist, Liang overemphasized its closeness, causing many to overlook developments that had occurred over the course of the century.

9. Daoism too was acceptable from the *guocui* viewpoint, but not from that of *Hantue*.

10. The Jiangnan scholar and patron Ruan Yuan (1764-1849) launched the academy as one of several projects to establish *kaozheng* scholarship in Guangzhou during his tenure as governor-general from 1817 to 1826. For a sketch of Ruan's career see Elman, *Philosophy to Philology*, 108-11; on the *Xuehai tang*, see 125-28.

11. After the Taiping Rebellion, the *Xuehai tang* became a center in the effort to reconcile "Han Learning" and "Song Learning" in meeting the perceived need to combine practical knowledge and moral leadership. See Elman, *Philosophy to Philology*, 242-48. One of the many contributions of Elman's study is to suggest the political roles of the two major scholarly movements during the Opium War and the Taiping Rebellion. Ruan Yuan had evolved to the position of legalization on the opium question, and Fang Dongshu (1772-1851), a critic of the Han Learning, opposed Ruan with a prohibitionist view. When Lin Zexu arrived in Guangzhou as imperial commissioner in 1839, he set up his headquarters at the Yuehua Academy, the chief rival of the *Xuehai tang*. Over the

next decades, those who sought to advance Song Learning, with its emphasis on moral leadership, also blamed advocates of Han Learning for the weaknesses that led to the Taiping Rebellion. However, the academy continued to emphasize *kaozheng* scholarship; Elman reproduces (*Philosophy to Philology*, 127-28) an examination from the late 1860s that clearly shows this.

12. See the study by Tilemann Grimm, "Academies and Urban Systems in Kwangtung," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, G. William Skinner, ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 475-98. For an impression of Xiangshan's position in the array of academies in Guangdong, refer to Table 6, p. 485.

13. "Gai jing hao," ZGZX no. 12, 511-13.

14. "Zhongan lanyu," in ZGZX, no. 13, 343-53. In this, the longest of the prison essays, Liu also addresses several other topics.

15. "Zaozi shidai zhi nannu pingdeng guan" and "Fojiao zhi nannu pingdeng guan," in ZGZX, no. 12, 506-7.

16. Liu's approach to this subject might suggest contact with Engels' *Origin of the Family*, through *Xin shiji* or *Tianyi bao*. See Zarrow, *Anarchism*, ch. 6, and Dirlik, *Anarchism*, 103.

17. This aunt was named Mahaprajapati, transliterated *Moheboxiboti*. See W. E. Soothill, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (Taibei: Chengwen, 1972), 437.

18. For Lacouperie's influence see Martin Bernal, "Liu Shih-p'ei and National Essence," 96-99.

19. ZSWX, 106.

20. ZSWX, 106.

21. Here Liu echoes Lin Xie, who in 1903 wrote to admonish the youth to take action, not simply adopt Western hair styles and wear spectacles. See above, chapter 3.

22. Compare Dirlik, *Anarchism*, 96.

23. Quotations from ZGZX, no. 13, 340-41.

24. See "Praising the Han School" (*Yang Han*), ZGZX, no. 12, 510.

25. See *From Philosophy to Philology*. Here Elman demonstrates this basic point that many have speculated about; what is impressive is the extent to which those who developed the Han School viewpoint did indeed duplicate developments of the Italian Renaissance. This suggests a valuable macrohistorical comparison, and if some have found "sprouts of capitalism" in China's early modern history, Elman's work suggests "sprouts of renascence."

On analogies, Hu Shi wrote of the New Culture Movement as a "Chinese Renaissance." More recently Vera Schwarcz has likened the New Culture Movement to the Enlightenment in eighteenth-century Europe; see her *The Chinese Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). All such concerns by Chinese intellectuals point to the disorientation they felt when they concluded that China had fallen behind the West. This feeling that there are timetables for historical development, already appearing in the early years of the century, suggests why Leninist thinking on a timetable for revolution developed appeal later on.

26. ZGZX, no. 13, 347.

27. See "Notes on the Nature of Literature" (*Quan wen xing*), ZGZX no. 12, 513. The English word "grammar" is inserted in an explanatory note here, but the meaning clearly is "style."

28. ZGZX, no. 12, 513. This must be a very early use of the term *wenxue geming*. Presumably if Liu used it, so did others at this time; however, I do not recall having seen it elsewhere in writings from this period.

29. ZGZX, no. 13, 344. Liu also criticized such classic novels as *Dream of the Red Chamber* and *Golden Lotus* (*Jin ping mei*) because titillation seemed to him to be the reason for their appeal.

30. Liang Qichao's enthusiasm for a new literature grew out of his experiences in Japan after arriving there in 1898. He became convinced that both European and Japanese fiction had contributed to development in Meiji Japan. In an essay launching his journal *New Fiction* (*Xin Xiaoshuo*) in 1902, Liang presented a perceptive analysis of the appeal and impact of fiction and offered his own criteria. He called for fiction that would immerse and stimulate the reader and cause him to identify with the hero. Assuming that Liu was responding to this set of criteria, it is noteworthy that his own standards concerned an approach to writing, while Liang's focused on the impact of a story. In "An Appeal to Novelists" written more than a decade later in 1915, Liang's views had moved closer to those of Liu's prison essay. Responding in the 1915 essay to the sometimes escapist turn that popular fiction had taken during the previous decade, Liang called on writers to remember their responsibility to society.

For Liang's views on literature, see C. T. Hsia, "Yen Fu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao as Advocates of New Fiction," in *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao*, Adele A. Rickett, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 221-57. Also see Mabel Lee, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929) and the Literary Revolution in Late-Ch'ing," in *Search for Identity: Modern Literature and the Creative Arts in Asia* (Proceedings of the 28th International Congress of Orientalists, Canberra), A. R. Davis, ed. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1974), 203-24. I am grateful to Douglas Reynolds for referring me to these two studies.

31. ZGZX, no. 13, 345.

32. ZGZX, no. 13, 346.

33. See ZGZX, no. 13, 341. Liu referred to Zhang as "a certain gentleman" (moshi) and to the essay as "On Morality" ("Daode lun"). However, Liu's listing of the four qualities described by Zhang leaves no doubt about the reference; for Zhang's essay see *Minbao*, no. 8 (Oct. 10, 1908), 13-31.

34. ZGZX, No. 13, 340. Liu here also says that, among scholars, Yan Yuan best exemplified the dare-to-die spirit. Yan Yuan (1635-1704) was known for his integrity and independence of mind. He never hesitated to express an honest disagreement, no matter what the consequences. On Yan, see Liang Qichao, *Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 40-42, and Elman, *Philosophy to Philology*, 51.

35. ZGZX, no. 13, 346.

36. Chan Sin-wai, *Buddhism in Late Ch'ing Political Thought*. Also see Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 216-17, and Dirlik, *Anarchism*, 55-56, 123-26.

37. While Chan Sin-wai's study offers a thorough survey of the interest in Buddhism, he is hesitant to go beyond the political impact of this trend. This subject needs further attention.

38. Bellah first developed this point in *Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957).

39. ZGZX, no. 13, 348-49. I have been unable to find very clear information on Yuekong or Zhenbao. In the essay Liu puts Yuekong in the Jiajing period (1522-67) of Ming, and Zhenbao in the Jingkang period (1126) of Song—exactly when Song was defeated by Jin in the north.

Gessho (1813-58), a monk of Kiyomizu temple in Kyoto, was an imperial loyalist banished from Kyoto for anti-bakufu activity. He became friends with Saigo Takamori, who in 1858 had lost a close friend in the anti-bakufu struggle and therefore set about to commit suicide. Gessho at first tried to convince Saigo not to kill himself. But after Gessho took refuge in Satsuma, Saigo's home state, it became clear that Saigo would not be able to protect him, and the two then jumped off a boat in a joint suicide pact. But while Gessho drowned, Saigo was rescued. This incident in 1858 appears to have had a profound effect on Saigo for the remainder of this life. See Ivan Morris, *The Nobility of Failure* (New York: Meridian paperback ed., 1975), 234-36. Agnes Chan noted Liu's citation of Gessho as a model for Chinese patriots; see Chan's "Liu Shifu and the Origins of Chinese Radicalism," 74-76.

This choice of a model is interesting from two angles. While radicals in China were opposed to the court, in Japan those who sought to make a new start politically stood for a "restoration" of the emperor and removal of the Tokugawa shogunate. What made Gessho attractive, of course, was his readiness to die for the cause he espoused. From another point of view, Liu surely experienced some of the survivor guilt that Ivan Morris believes was extremely important in Saigo's life after Gessho's suicide.

40. The obvious exception to this generalization about anarchists is Ba Jin, who revered Shifu. Probably almost all of Ba Jin's work would have satisfied Shifu.

Chapter 5

1. Feng, GMYS, vol. 2, 206.
2. Three related accounts describe the assassination corps. Li Xibin, one of the group's members, produced two of these. The more detailed of these is the major source for this discussion; this is "Qingmo Zhina ansha tuan jishi," in *Guangdong wenwu teji*, ed. Lo Shaotang and Chen Yincheng (Hong Kong, 1949), 17-23 (cited hereafter as "Li, 'China Assassination Corps'"). This is an expanded version of Li's "Ji Tongmenghui zhong zhi yige ansha tuan" in WSNWX, ser. 1, vol. 12, 33-38. Li also provided the information for Feng Ziyu's "Xianggang Zhina ansha tuan chengli shimo," in GMYS, vol. 4, 202-12. Feng's account is the earliest; the two subsequent reports by Li provide more detail and, despite Li's chosen title for his first narrative, suggests that the corps regarded itself as independent of the Tongmenghui.
3. See Yan Changhong, "Xinhai geming zhong de ansha huodong ji qi pingjia" (An analysis of assassination activity in the Revolution of 1911) in the seventieth-anniversary collection, *Xinhai geming qishi zhounian lunwen ji* (Beijing, 1983), vol. 3, pp. 766-92. Also see Wu Yannan, "'Xinxue' yu xinhai fengyun" (The 'School of Mind' and the situation in 1911), *Lishi yanjiu* 1992-4, 167-179. Another version of Wu's article appears in a more recent book which he edited, *Xinxue yu Zhongguo shehui* (The School of Mind and Chinese Society) (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu xueyuan chubanshe, 1994).
4. See *Min bao*, no. 26, "Geming zhi qushi" and "Geming zhi juixin."
5. The two letters are reprinted in Feng, KGQS, vol. 2, 232-35.
6. Feng, KGQS, vol. 2, 235.

7. For details of the beginnings of this relationship, see Wang Guangyuan and Jiang Zhongqiu, *Chen Bijun yu Wang Jingwei* (Chen Bijun and Wang Jingwei) (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1992), ch. 2. Chen Bijun was only sixteen when she met Wang; he was twenty-four.

8. Feng, KGQS, vol. 2, 236-37.

9. The statement appears in Feng, KGQS, vol. 2, 238-45.

10. This detail is noted in Gerald E. Bunker, *The Peace Conspiracy: Wang Ching-wei and the China War, 1937-1941* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 6. Bunker cites a tribute to Wang written by Tang Leang-li as the source. A number of studies on Wang have appeared in the surge of work on the Republican period done in the People's Republic during the past several years. For other details, see Liu Li and Xia Chao, *Wang Jingwei pingzhuang* (A critical biography of Wang Jingwei) (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1988), and Wang and Jiang, *Chen Bijun yu Wang Jingwei*.

11. Feng, KGQS, vol. 2, 246, gives this explanation for the decision not to execute Wang and Huang. In a study of Wang's later years, John H. Boyle in *China and Japan at War, 1937-1945: The Politics of Collaboration* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), 18, offers other possible explanations for Zaifeng's leniency.

12. Chen Bijun and the other members of Wang's group returned to Guangzhou, hoping to devise a means to gain his release. They later returned to Beijing, still unable to accomplish anything toward that goal. With help from a jailer they did obtain some of the poems Wang wrote while in prison, another manifestation of his effort to combine ideals and action. See Feng, ZZS, 213.

13. Xie Yingbo autobiography, 14a, also makes Liu the lead organizer.

14. Xie autobiography, 15a.

15. Li gives this figure in "China Assassination Corps," 18. Mo, HYSP, 18b, says that Li sold two buildings owned by his family, giving proceeds to the corps.

16. Also at his residence, Li harbored Xu Zonghan and Li Yingsheng, who were evading the authorities following their participation in the "New Army uprising" of February 1910. Their association with Liu Sifu's group at this time foreshadowed cooperation between Liu's corps and the assassination group organized by Huang Xing following the Huanghuagang uprising. At that point Xu Zonghan aided Huang as he resided in the Hong Kong home of her half-sister, Xu Mulan. Xu Zonghan eventually became Huang's second wife. Li Yingsheng and his brother, Peiji, were sons of Xu Mulan.

Li Xibin reports Xu and Li Yingsheng's presence at the Kowloon site, 18. Chun-tu Hsueh, *Huang Hsing and the Chinese Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), 92, notes the relationship between Huang and Xu Zonghan. Mo HYSP, 18b, indicates the relationships between Xu Zonghan, Xu Mulan, and the Li brothers.

For an account of Xu Zonghan's life and career, see Li Yu-ning, "Hsu Tsung-han (c. 1877-1944): Tradition and Revolution," in *Chinese Studies in History*, 20:2 (Winter 1986-87), 91-110.

17. Li Xibin, "China Assassination Corps," 18. Women as well as men in the group watched the experiments. Of all the corps members he notes, "They viewed death as a young lady views marriage."

18. Li Xibin, "China Assassination Corps," 18-19. Lin, who died in the later attack that wounded Li Jun, was using his original name, Guanrong, at the time he volunteered for the attack on Zaifeng. Ding Xiangtian's readiness to volunteer is

explained by her relationship with Liu. However, it was common in such plots to have a woman comrade go along to reside with a group in order to avoid the suspicion that a group of unattached young men might arouse.

19. Li Xibin, "China Assassination Corps," 19. The group telegraphed Zheng Bi'an, who had returned to his journalistic career in Beijing, but Zheng could learn nothing of Cheng.

20. Feng Ziyou describes Wen's attack in GMYS, vol. 2, 284-89. Other accounts are reproduced in WSNWX, ser. 1, vol. 13, 691-710.

21. This detail is eerily reminiscent of Gavrilo Princip in Sarajevo, June 1914. When his initial attempt to kill Austrian archduke Francis Ferdinand failed, Princip went to a teahouse. He got a second chance for an attack when the archduke's driver made a wrong turn and then experienced mechanical problems.

22. Hsueh, *Huang Hsing*, 88, says that Wen's attack caused the authorities to strengthen security throughout the Guangzhou area. Rhoads, *China's Republican Revolution: The Case of Kwangtung, 1895-1913* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 199-200, presents it as an important factor in the growing tension in the city. For full details of the April episode see pp. 197-203.

23. Hsueh, *Huang Hsing*, 99-100, notes this inspirational effect of the Huanghuagang tragedy. In another discussion of the Wuchang uprising, V. P. Dutt shows how the example of the Guangzhou martyrs was used to inspire those who attended a meeting at Wuhan in May to plan a similar attempt; see Dutt's "The First Week of the Revolution: The Wuchang Uprising" in *China in Revolution*, ed. Mary C. Wright, 391.

24. Li, *Huang Chronology*, 186. Huang asked Zhou to return from Singapore to join in the work of these groups.

25. Huang spoke of his readiness to undertake assassination in a letter he wrote to Feng Ziyou in Vancouver, Canada, shortly before going to Wuchang to lead the revolutionary forces following the October 10 uprising. This letter is quoted in Hsueh, *Huang Hsing*, 104-6.

26. A summary of Huang's assassination activity is presented in Li, *Huang Chronology*, 184-186. In a letter to Wu Zihui (then in London) Sun expressed the same reaction to Huang's decision to undertake assassination as he had to Wang Jingwei's: he was too valuable to the revolutionary movement to sacrifice himself in such an attempt. The letter, dated August 31, reported Sun's transmission of the funds. Other references to the funding of Huang's efforts appear in Feng, ZZS, 255, and Zou Lu, WSNWX, ser. 1, vol. 13, 711.

27. Mo, HYSF, 8b ff. Zhou is referred to by another name, Yanming, in accounts of this activity in 1911.

28. Li, "China Assassination Corps," 19.

29. Li, "China Assassination Corps," 19. Feng also mentions He's shop in ZZS, 243.

30. These details are found in Li, "China Assassination Corps," 19, and Feng, GMYS, vol. 4, 206-7.

31. Chen Jiongming had found another participant, Chen Jingyue, who had spent several years as a teacher in Malaysia. Although Cantonese, Chen Jingyue was not from the city and thus was assigned a guide! These details in Feng, GMYS, vol. 4, 207, 214.

32. These details in Li, "China Assassination Corps," 20. During his convalescence Li Zhun seems to have reflected on the revolutionists' devotion to their cause and

prepared himself for the eventuality that they would ultimately succeed. After Guangdong's declaration of independence the following November, Li agreed to join the revolutionary side and ordered those under his command to fly the Republican flag. Hu Hanmin accepted Li as a supporter of the new government; however, within a week after it was established Li felt obliged to leave Guangzhou. Feng, GMYS, vol. 4, 248-52; Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 226, 235.

Chen Jingyue, the newcomer to the corps, also had set out to make an attack that day. He lost his way and apparently panicked. He had no queue and wore western clothes. Their suspicions aroused, police arrested him and found the bombs he carried. Under continued questioning, Chen refused to name his co-conspirators and was executed a few days later at age forty-two. Feng, GMYS, vol. 4, 288.

33. Li, "China Assassination Corps," 20.

34. Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 214-233, gives an informative account of events in Guangzhou and elsewhere in Guangdong between the Wuchang uprising and the province's declaration of independence on November 9. Rhodes notes the time of Hu Hanmin's return, 215.

35. Among Zhang's most active supporters were Chen Jinghua and Jiang Kongyin, who had helped to bring about Liu Sifu's release from prison in 1909. Rhoads describes the backgrounds of Chen and Jiang, *Republican Revolution*, 217-18, but notes that the origin of their relationship and the reasons for their continuing cooperation remain unclear.

36. For the merchants' views during the weeks following the Wuchang uprising, see Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 222-27. After the revolutionary government became established in Guangdong the merchants grew ambivalent because the government had difficulty in restoring fiscal stability (238-41). By the time of the Second Revolution in summer 1913, the merchants had withdrawn their support because of the same problem (262-63).

37. *Republican Revolution*, 275.

38. See accounts in WSNWX by Zou Lu, ser. 1, vol. 13, 711-12, and Chen Baixuan, 713. Also see Li, "China Assassination Corps," 21.

39. In his account in WSNWX, Chen Baixuan says the bomb used on Fengshan weighed thirty pounds; Zou Lu puts it at fifty. Li Xibin, 20, notes that the bomb which wounded Li Jun contained only one-and-a-half pounds of explosives; for the attack on Fengshan, Li says, the bombs would be loaded with seven pounds of explosives.

40. Li, "China Assassination Corps," 21.

41. Hunan and Shaanxi provinces had made declarations of independence, as had the city of Jiujiang. Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 218-19.

42. See Winston Hsieh, "Peasant Insurrection and the Marketing Hierarchy in the Canton Delta, 1911," in *The Chinese City between Two Worlds*, G. William Skinner and Mark Elvin, eds. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 119-41. Here Hsieh discusses conditions in Shiqi and the other places mentioned below. He points out the economic grievances of sensitive lineage groups, and also notes that local interests and local forces quickly reverted to secondary importance as the revolutionaries advanced toward Guangzhou.

43. Zheng Bi'an's account of the Shiqi episode is included in *Xinhai geming huysi lu* (Beijing, 1962), vol. 2, 338-42. The force organized there was called the Xiang Army. Feng Ziyu's accounts say that Liu Sifu helped to organize the Xiang Army (see, for

example, ZZS, 263). Mo Jipeng insists that Feng is in error on this point. HYSF, 22b. As Mo was a leader in the Xiang Army, his account must be accepted; he also indicates where Liu was instead, as described below in the text. Neither does Zheng Brian's account mention Liu in connection with the Xiang Army.

44. Hsieh, "Peasant Insurrection," 124.

45. Mo, HYSF, 22a-b; Feng, ZZS, 263. Like Liu, Mo was working in an area away from home; he was from Dongguan, on the east side of the delta.

46. For these details see Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 25.

47. Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 225. Lu Lanqing enjoyed widespread notoriety and seems to have been the most feared bandit leader in Guangdong. For the estimates on numbers in these forces see p. 238. Hsieh, "Peasant Insurrection," 126, also mentions the bandit forces.

48. Hsieh, "Peasant Insurrection," 132-38, describes the activity in three of these east-side counties—Dongguan, Xin'an, and Guishan. He notes, p. 136, that local groups rose against government troops when the latter passed through en route to Huizhou; they were concerned most of all simply with the security of their marketing communities.

49. Mo describes Liu's role in the unit in HYSF, 20a-22b, giving its organizer's name as Liu Zhaohuai and the army's name as the Zhao Army. Li, "China Assassination Corps," 22, notes Gao's participation in this army. Li calls this the "Eastern New Army," but like Mo says that this army operated in Xin'an, and there can be no doubt that they refer to the same unit.

50. Mo, HYSF, 20a-21a. Mo here describes how he and Liu were introduced to each other by Chen Jiongming a few days later. Chen asked both to assist him in organizing a central agency to maintain order among the various revolutionary armies that had gathered in Guangzhou. This became a serious concern for the new government.

51. Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 226-27, discusses the factors in Zhang Mingqi's decision to yield to the revolutionaries.

52. See Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 226-27, and Feng, GMYS, vol. 4, 248-49, on Li's brief tenure in the new government.

53. The corps members did take advantage of the favorable local conditions to honor Lin Guanci. Lin was originally buried at Huanghuagang, but because he had died in a different engagement from those of the April 1911 uprising, the corps members wanted a separate place. Liu's body was moved to nearby Honghuagang ("Red-flower Mound"). Later, Chen Jingyue, Wen Shengcai, and Zhong Mingguang, who in 1915 attempted to assassinate Long Jiguang (the pro-Yuan Shikai governor of Guangdong), also were buried at Honghuagang, which thus became a monument to assassins. Li, "China Assassination Corps," 22.

54. Li Xibin in "China Assassination Corps," 22, says that Wang Jingwei sent a messenger to Hu Hanmin at Guangzhou, and that Hu referred this messenger to Liu Sifu. Feng, GMYS, vol. 4, 211-12, indicates that Zaifeng was the intended victim. Mo, HYSF, 23b, says that Liu and his accomplices planned to attack Yuan.

55. Li, "China Assassination Corps," 22, lists only Liu, Ding, and Zheng as members of this group. Mo, HYSF, 23a, says that Chen also was along. Li Xibin himself and another member of the corps had joined a "Northern Expeditionary Army" (*beifa jun*) organized by Yao Yuping, joining an artillery battalion to make use of their knowledge of explosives. Li met Liu after both groups arrived in Shanghai, and presumably would have assisted in the planned attack in Beijing. Li also notes here that Li Yingsheng was prepared to pursue further assassination missions in Beijing.

56. Establishment of the Beijing-Tianjin branch is described in an account of the attack on Yuan written by Ouyang Yun, in WSNWX, ser. 1, vol. 13, 717-22. The arsenal included both pistols and bombs. Ouyang tells how he and Peng Jiazen (on whom see below) prepared a hundred bombs of assorted sizes.

57. Wu Tingfang was Sun's chief representative in the negotiations; see Li Chien-nung, *Political History of China, 1840-1928* (tr. Ssu-yu Teng and Jeremy Ingalls) (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1961), 257-66 *passim*. Wang's role is indicated in Hsueh, *Huang Hsing*, 134.

58. These details are in Ouyang's account, WSNWX, ser. 1, vol. 13, 719-21. The three who were apprehended were executed within a few days; actually one of them committed suicide because of unbearable pain from the wounds he had received when hit by rifle fire from Yuan's guard.

59. Li, *Political History of China*, 265, notes that some historians still attribute Liangbi's assassination to Yuan.

60. Sources on Peng's mission are in WSNWX, ser. 1, vol. 13, 729-42. Peng had first proposed a rash scheme that would have included many attackers and was intended to remove the entire conservative faction of the court. Peng, a Sichuanese, was well suited for the mission. The son of an official, he had graduated from the newly established provincial military school and become an army officer; thus, he was familiar with official and military circles in Beijing.

61. See the account by Peng's friend Huang Yiyong in WSNWX, ser. 1, vol. 13, 733.

62. Zou Lu account, WSNWX, ser. 1, vol. 13, 730.

63. Liangbi accepted his fate nobly. Regaining consciousness before he expired, he remarked that he recognized Peng as his attacker and knew him to be a worthy individual; he also acknowledged that the government could not survive for long. WSNWX, ser. 1, vol. 13, 731.

64. Another action that hastened the decision to abdicate was a telegram sent by some forty of Yuan Shikai's supporters who held ranking positions in government armies, stating their approval of a republican government. This was an implied threat of military action. Hsueh, *Huang Hsing*, 135.

65. One such action was an unsuccessful attack on Long Jiguang, pro-Yuan governor of Guangdong, in summer 1915. The attempt was made by a supporter of Sun Zhongshan named Zhong Mingguang. See *Xinhai qiyi qianhou xianjin lieshi zhuan* (Biographies of Revolutionary Vanguards and Martyrs before and after the 1911 Uprising) (Taipei, 1955), vol. 3, 201. For Long's role in Shifu's career, see below, chapter 7.

66. For two such episodes see Li, *Political History of China*, 253-4, and Joseph W. Esherick, *Reform and Revolution in China: The 1911 Revolution in Hunan and Hubei* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 209-10.

67. As noted previously, Shifu's experience paralleled Kropotkin's in this way; refer to chapter 2.

68. Themes involving the effect of death on survivors are explored in Robert Jay Lifton, S. Kato, and M. R. Reich, *Six Lives, Six Deaths: Portraits from Modern Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979). While these studies emphasize certain features culturally specific to Japan, they also point out that much about the experience of death and its impact on survivors is universal. For relevant comments, see 15-16 and

53-58. The comments on "survivor guilt" in the latter reference are from a study on General Nogi Maresuke, whose suicide following the Meiji Emperor's death in 1912 exemplified *bushido* values. Obviously Shifu made much different use of any survivor guilt which he might have felt.

Chapter 6

1. Song's "Shehui zhuyi shangque" appeared in the August 15 issue of the Guomindang-oriented newspaper, published in Shanghai. Song's views are discussed in Wu Xiangxiang, "Jiang Kanghu yu Zhongguo Shehui Dang," in *Zhongguo xiandai shi congkan* (Collected Essays on Contemporary Chinese History) (Taipei, 1950), vol. 2, 51-95. (This is cited hereafter as "Wu Xiangxiang.") Wu's valuable study provides a number of useful points and extensive quotation from original sources in the notes.

2. The same month Song's article appeared, the moderate *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi*) carried a discussion by Qian Zhixiu entitled "Socialism and Social Policy." Qian too favored "social policy," presenting his rationale in a series of arguments drawn from his views on economics and sociology. China was different from the West, Qian maintained, because it was not yet developed in productivity, capital, or industry. There were many possibilities, short of socialism, that would use principles of cooperation to assure that everyone in society benefited from industrial development. Qian's arguments were a mirror image of Shifu's, and of the "narrow" socialists discussed below. See "Shehui zhuyi yu shehui zhengce," reprinted in SLXJ, vol. 3, 771-80.

3. The history of the relationship between anarchists and Marxists was a major subject in Shifu's essays, usually in response to correspondents. This question will be dealt with in the next two chapters. For background on the use of the terms "collectivism" and "communism," refer to chapter 2 above.

4. One further point should be noted in describing this terminology. Some of these early twentieth-century socialists used numerological slogans to identify the principles they espoused (a practice not limited to political movements, nor to this historical period in China). For example, Taixu and the Socialist Party identified their anarchism as "Three No-ism," (*San wu zhuyi*—no religion, family, nor government). Shifu would take issue with Taixu on this point, insisting that such terminology was too limiting and that, as the Socialist Party really espoused anarchism, they should call themselves anarchists.

5. This sketch of Jiang's career is largely drawn from the entry on him in BDRC.

6. On the late Qing reforms that produced these institutions in Zhili and elsewhere, see Reynolds, *Xinzheng Revolution*, chs. 5 and 6.

7. Jiang was only one of many individuals, like Liu Sifu, for whom the issue of women's equality would be closely related to an advocacy of socialist principles.

8. Jiang wrote the articles under the pen name Xu Ancheng. BDRC, I, 339.

9. Wu Xiangxiang, 53. Other sources put the date of organization as late as September.

10. For these details see Wu Xiangxiang, 56 and 68, n. 10.

11. Wu Xiangxiang, 73-75, n. 31.

12. See Jiang's *China and the Social Revolution*, published by the Chinese Socialist Club of San Francisco in 1914. Jiang outlined the party's activities on pp. 26-27. The

account suggests further resourcefulness in the recruiting effort: "Some of these organizers were equipped with stereopticons and moving picture machines, and in many localities the first moving pictures ever looked upon were those that the Socialists brought."

13. Wu Xiangxiang, 60, mentions these unions, citing Deng Zhongxia, *Zhongguo zhigong yundong jianshi* (A Short History of Professional and Labor Movements in China). A dockworkers' union in Pukou, Jiangsu (opposite Nanjing, whence goods were ferried across the Yangzi), and a railroad workers' union in north China were representative of the party's efforts among laborers.

14. Yang Kuisong and Dong Shiwei, *Haishi shentou yu damo lizhou* (Mirage and Oasis) (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1991), 65. (Hereafter cited as "Yang and Dong.") This recent study of Chinese socialism offers a great deal of information on the early Republican period. Yang and Dong discuss the Chinese Socialist Party and its offshoots in chs. 4 and 5.

15. Elizabeth Perry discusses the Labor Party in *Shanghai on Strike: The Politics of Chinese Labor* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 41-43. For a discussion of the Labor Party and the Peasants' Party, see Kojima Yoshiro, "Reformist Parties in the Early Years of the Republic of China," in *The Revolution of 1911*, Harold Z. Schiffman and Eto Shinkichi, eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994).

16. Wu Xiangxiang, 60.

17. An excellent discussion of Jiang's ideas and their development is available in Dirlak, *Anarchism*, 121-23, 133-40. Jiang's own statements are presented in his collected writings, *Hongshui ji* (Flood-tide Collection).

18. The right of inheritance has taken on new life in contemporary China. This right was restored in 1985 as part of the ongoing wave of reform following the extreme leftist policies of the Cultural Revolution period.

19. Edward Friedman in *Backward Toward Revolution: The Chinese Revolutionary Party* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 15, notes that the Second International had a representative at Sun Zhongshan's headquarters in Shanghai at this time, Gardner L. Harding, an American. Harding was in good position to observe the nature of Jiang's movement; he reported on these and other developments in China in the *International Socialist Review* and a subsequent book, *Present-day China*, published in 1916. If the International's representative in China worked out of Sun's headquarters, he would not have been likely to endorse Jiang. The presence of an agent from the International at this time strikes interest in that this anticipates the work of the Comintern in China by a decade, like so much else about the broad movement of socialism in late Qing and the early Republic.

20. Wu Xiangxiang, 58; the long notes here duplicate Jiang's initial call for discussion and one party member's detailed response that addressed a number of basic issues. Jiang and some others were concerned about two points in the party platform, support for "world socialism" (*shijie shehui zhuyi*), which meant that they intended to deemphasize nationalism, and the call for terminating the right of inheritance. This concern centered on whether a "fully political party," one seeking to elect candidates to office, should embrace principles that appear to threaten the nation or its established practices (the right of inheritance). Thus, they rejected the possibility of seeking votes under the two most idealistic points in their platform.

21. For the "liberal" characterization see Ernest P. Young, *The Presidency of Yuan Shih-k'ai: Liberalism and Dictatorship in Early Republican China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977), ch. 4. Young regards Yuan as genuinely concerned to cooperate with other political forces during this period, especially with the Guomindang, whose initial leaders, Sun Zhongshan and Huang Xing, had themselves yielded much in hopes of making the new government work.

22. Wu Xiangxiang, 56.

23. Shifu regarded Jiang's attempt to negotiate with Yuan here as reflecting the latter's ignorance of both socialism and the nature of authority (see chapter 8).

24. Jiang had published an open letter to Li in *Heaven's Alarm* (*Tianduo bao*), a pro-party newspaper, to protest Li's prohibition of party activities in Hubei. This letter, published on July 30, is reprinted in Wu Xiangxiang, n. 41, 83-84.

Young, *Presidency of Yuan Shih-k'ai*, 87, specifically cites Li's arrest of Jiang as evidence that provincial leaders might be more heavy-handed than Yuan during this period. Li had shortly before telegraphed Yuan to remove two high-ranking military officers, and dispensing with legal procedures, Yuan had arranged their execution. Young notes that there was only brief protest in the national assembly, another indication of the accommodating mood of elected officials at the time.

25. Friedman, *Backward Toward Revolution*, 23. Also see Wu Xiangxiang, 56-57. In his first chapter Friedman discusses Sun Zhongshan's relationships with others in the socialist movement at this time and his efforts to organize a large-scale socialist party. The maneuverings of Jiang and Sun outlined here provide interesting perspective on Jiang's ambitions, as on his relationship with the "narrow" socialists.

26. Young, *Presidency of Yuan Shih-k'ai*, 87-89.

27. Friedman, *Backward Toward Revolution*, 22-23. As of late 1912 Sun, as an aspiring leader who only months previously had served as provisional president, no longer had organizational backing for his program and ambitions.

28. Sun did not address the party's congress; his appearance was October 15 to 17, and the congress did not begin until November 1. Friedman, *Backward Toward Revolution*, 23, seems correct in stating that Sun "addressed representatives to the convention," but they either lived in Shanghai or went there early for the lectures. For the dates see Wu Xiangxiang, 60.

These lectures were the fullest account Sun gave of his views on socialism until his lectures on the Three Principles during the middle 1920s.

29. For these points see Friedman, *Backward Toward Revolution*, 23, 25.

30. By the time Sun Zhongshan made his appearance before the party, Jiang realized that, at least of those who would attend the party congress, a solid majority regarded Sun's socialism, like his own, as too "broad." His comments about Sun then may be seen as a final bid to align himself with the majority. When that also failed, Jiang saw his party divided and his influence severely reduced.

31. This May Day rally might be the earliest held in China. For details see Yang and Dong, 92, citing reports in *Minli bao* for May 2 and 5.

32. Martin Bernal concluded that Jiang Kanghu did not even participate in the May Day rally; see "Chinese Socialism before 1913," 93-94 in Jack Gray, ed., *Modern China's Search for a Political Form* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969). In contrast to Yang and Dong, Bernal here cites the English-language *China Republican*. Bernal's view that Sha Gan and the Socialist Party took the lead seems most likely.

33. Perry, *Shanghai on Strike*, 42-43, 279, n. 37. Xu's attack should be seen as an early action in the Second Revolution, its focus in the labor movement. Yuan had announced a nationwide ban against strikes before the end of 1912, probably to thwart an outspoken union that had organized at the arsenal; the Labor Party apparently had inspired this workers' group. Chen Qimei helped to organize the action, and Xu's small force carried a banner proclaiming themselves the "National People's Army of the Republic of China" (*Zhonghua Minguo Guominjun*).

34. See Gu Jiegang, Cao Suizhi, and Cao Jiayin, "Zhongguo Shehui Dang he Chen Yilong de si" (The Chinese Socialist Party and the death of Chen Yilong). *Xinhai geming qishi zhounian huiyi* (Reminiscences on the seventieth anniversary of the Revolution of 1911), vol. 6, 495-506 (hereafter, "Gu et al."). Gu observes that Chen seemed to have little in the way of family ties, possibly had been a monk, and had previously been involved in secret society activity.

35. A notice on the Esperanto class is reprinted in *Zhongguo wuzhengfu zhuyi he Zhongguo shehui dang* (Chinese anarchism and the Chinese Socialist Party) (Huayin: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1981), 195-96. Other data here are from Gu et al.

36. Gu et al., 502-3. Li Dazhao was not the only well-known individual whose early experience of socialism came through Chen Yilong's activity in Beijing. Gu also notes here that Deng Yingchao, later to become Zhou Enlai's wife, attended the school and lived there, because her mother, a party member, had no family in Beijing.

37. Documents from this period were reprinted in *Zhongguo wuzhengfu zhuyi yu Zhongguo shehui dang*, 187-202.

38. Gu et al., 505, say that Chen actually had gone to Shanghai to join the military forces opposing Yuan. Feeling the loss of his leadership, party members in Beijing and Tianjin urged him to return to the north; he was arrested upon his arrival in Tianjin.

39. *Zhongguo wuzhengfu zhuyi he Zhongguo shehui dang*, 203-6. Also reprinted here (206-9) is the article written by Shifu soon after Chen's execution, "The Government and the Socialist Party," which originally appeared in *Huiming lu [Min sheng]*, no. 2 (Aug. 27, 1913).

40. Jiang, *China and the Social Revolution*, 29.

41. After leaving the United States, Jiang had spent almost a year in Russia. His observations there had led to his belief that China should find its own way in development. A "new democracy" and "new socialism," more systematic but basically as moderate as his earlier principles, were to serve as the basis for the revived Chinese Socialist Party.

42. A sampling of Jiang's writing and lecture topics from his period in Canada is available in his *On Chinese Studies* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1934).

43. Gu et al., 506, say that Jiang died in jail following arrest for his role in Wang Jingwei's administration.

44. For biographical information see "T'ai-hsu," BDRC, vol. 3, 207-10, and the autobiography, *Taixu zizhuan* (Singapore: Nanyang Buddhist Publishers, 1971), hereafter cited as "TXZZ." Also see Yinshun, *Taixu dashi nianpu* (Hong Kong: Committee for Taixu's Works, 1950), hereafter cited as "Yinshun, *Nianpu*."

45. Lu Zhe would emphasize Taixu's youthfulness, not so much in any optimistic assessment of human possibilities that Taixu might have held, as in his lack of experience. He expressed this view in a private discussion of Taixu, and more broadly on the theme of youth in the revolutionary movement, including Shifu as well; and see

Lu Zhe's study of Chinese anarchism, *Zhongguo wuzhengfu zhuyi shigao* (History of Chinese anarchism) (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1990), 132.

46. Although he never returned to direct political activity, during the 1920s Taixu served occasionally as a spiritual counselor to such figures as Jiang Kaishek and Yan Xishan. He often represented Buddhism in internal multi-religious organizations, and represented Chinese Buddhism in international bodies. He traveled to Japan, Europe, and the United States pursuing all these projects. See BDRC; also see Lu Zhe, *Wuzhengfu zhuyi*, 130.

47. TXZZ, 12-13. Both Juhua Shan and Putou Shan are counted among the "sacred mountains" of Chinese Buddhism.

48. Despite his education, the uncle's contribution to the family's welfare was limited because of his opium habit. Taixu recalled sitting beside the uncle's bed as the latter smoked, while Taixu recited his schoolwork; the boy was forever afterward repulsed by opium as a result of this experience (TXZZ, 11).

49. The ability to recite has been basic to education in China; the ability to do this quickly is seen as a manifestation of intelligence. As Taixu had been visiting temples from a very early period in his life and already had long experience, he was perhaps only responding to a somewhat more sophisticated approach to this kind of learning. Recitation is still used; teaching English in Chongqing in 1984, I was quite surprised at first to see some of the students standing outdoors, often facing a wall or into a corner, "reciting" their "lessons."

50. TXZZ, 26. Taixu also studied *weishi* (Consciousness-Only) thought, but only after his retirement from political activity in 1914.

51. TXZZ, 29-32; see BDRC entry for dates. There was a political aspect even to this work: Japan had become one of the "treaty powers" as a result of its military conquests of China, a situation that provided the chance to conduct missionary activity in China. The difference from the Western nations was that the Japanese sought to strengthen Buddhism. As with many other kinds of Japanese enterprises in China during this period, however, the line between friendship and aggrandizement was not always clear either to the Japanese or the Chinese involved. A second factor was that Qing reforms called for the conversion of temples into schools. This constituted a threat to Buddhist properties and to the autonomy of the Buddhist establishment. Thus, in undertaking such reforms, the clergy sought to take responsibility for better educating its own members and—as some "public" schools also were launched by the clergy—also to accept a role in broader educational reform. For Taixu's recollections of these aspects of the situation, see TXZZ, 30-31, where he expresses a territorial if not nationalistic concern. For additional background, see Reynolds, *Xinzheng Revolution*, 69-73.

52. For an account of Zongyang's activities, especially with the Chinese Educational Association, see Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*, 59-61. Rankin downplays Zongyang's fervor for revolution. As of 1910-11, he was not nearly as active as Taixu. Also see Gao Zhennong, "Xinhai geming yu Fojiao" (The Revolution of 1911 and Buddhism), in *Xinhai Geming yu Zhongguo Jindai Sixiang Wenhua* (The Revolution of 1911 and Modern China's Thought and Culture), Hu Weixi, ed. (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin daxue chubanshe, 1991), 128-130. Gao notes that in 1919 Sun Zhongshan gave 10,000 yuan toward the reconstruction of Qixia shan (near Nanjing), which under Zongyang's supervision finally became the kind of Buddhist academy that Taixu tried to establish in 1911.

53. Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 159. Another less prominent monk, Yizhou, should be mentioned in a study of Shifu because he provides another connection to White Cloud Cloister at West Lake in Hangzhou, where Shifu began the spiritual retreat with his comrades that launched the Conscience Society (see next chapter). Yizhou had sought a quiet retreat for himself and found it at White Cloud. Knowing his support for the cause of revolution, some local activists asked if they could use the cloister as a secret meeting place, to which Yizhou assented. He also assisted the revolutionaries by delivering weapons and ammunition from time to time. On Yizhou, see Gao Zhennong, "Xinhai geming yu Foxiao," 133.

54. Qiyun had qualified as *xiucai* in the local examinations of his home district in Hunan; then in a decision unusual for a promising scholar, he had become a monk.

55. TXZZ, 30. Taixu is vague as to the reason for Qiyun's imprisonment, and also as to when he and others appealed to Eight-Fingers. Qiyun might have been incarcerated for his association with Qiu Jin following her abortive uprising in Shaoxing in July 1907 (cf. Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*, 184-85). However, Taixu notes that Qiyun had been arrested in Wujiang xian (south of Suzhou) and had been turned over to the governor at Suzhou.

56. Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 185.

57. TXZZ, 32.

58. TXZZ, 33. The later correspondence is available in most convenient form in SFWC, 147-50, 207-21, 293-95.

59. TXZZ, 36-37. Also see Gao Zhennong, "Xinhai geming yu Fojiao," 132-33.

60. TXZZ, 33. Pan was among the most persistent revolutionary journalists in Guangzhou, having been active on newspapers from as early as 1905 up through the time of the Republican revolution; see Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 109, 182-84, 197, 221. Taixu had become active writing poetry over the months just prior to this time, and he describes Pan and others he knew in Guangzhou as "poetry friends." Pan became a supporter of Shifu's anarchism during 1912 (see chapter 7).

61. TXZZ, 33.

62. TXZZ, 38. Taixu might have gained entree to Sun through his acquaintance with Zongyang.

63. TXZZ, 38. Here and in the reference below, Taixu uses both Chinese Socialist Party and Socialist Party; but there could be little question that the people he refers to joined the latter on its establishment in late 1912.

64. The monk Renshan is not to be confused with Yang Wenhui, the major leader of the Buddhist revival who founded the institute and press in Nanjing, and also used the courtesy name Renshan, by which he is more often identified in China. Particulars on the monk Renshan follow. As noted, Taixu also studied at Yang Wenhui's institute. Yang Wenhui (Renshan) died literally on the eve of the Revolution of 1911, on October 8 (Holmes Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 23).

Zhenjiang is an historic city with a number of points of interest. Jinshan remains active and today is one of the city's tourist attractions. Novelist Pearl Buck lived in Zhenjiang with her parents and later returned to the city. Zhenjiang also was the site of the last battle of the (first) Opium War.

65. See Welch's discussion of this episode, *Practice*, 28-33. For Taixu's recollections, see TXZZ, 39-40. Another more recent account by Huang Changhun appears in *Jindai Jiangsu zongjiao* (Religion in modern Jiangsu), *Jiangsu wenshi ziliao xuanji* (Selections from literary and historical materials of Jiangsu), no. 38 (Nanjing, 1991), 89-92.

"Jinshan" was generally used to refer to the major temple at this site on the south bank of the Yangzi River, which actually was named Jiangtian. Several other smaller temples also were located at the same site. Although Renshan had been trained on Jinshan, he belonged not to Jiangtian but to one of these smaller temples, Guanyin Ge. In seeking to establish his academy at the prestigious Jiangtian he was recognizing its importance, but he also was seeking to redress some longstanding grievances: monks who trained at Guanyin Ge were regularly taunted by their counterparts at the more conservative Jiangtian.

66. TXZZ, 39.

67. TXZZ, 40.

68. TXZZ, 41. For additional perspective on the relationships of Qingquan, Jishan, and Shuangting, see Welch, *Practice*, 159-60, 406-7.

69. Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 33.

70. Yinshun, *Nianpu*, 49. Here Yinshun quotes from Taixu's essay, "Wode Fojiao geming shibai shi" (The History of My Failure in the Buddhist Revolution).

71. Yinshun, *Nianpu*, 51.

72. On the several associations formed in early 1912, see Welch, *Practice*, 33-38. The consensus body that emerged was called the General Association of Chinese Buddhists (*Zhonghua Fojiao Zonghui*), of which Eight Fingers was elected president (April 1912). By this time Yuan Shikai had taken office, and governmental approval rested with his minister of the interior, who delayed for months in certifying this organization's charter. When Eight Fingers finally went to Beijing in November to appeal in person for approval, he was so outraged by the insults he received during his interview at the ministry of the interior that he died that night. The old monk's death was followed by quick approval of his request. For broader perspectives on this and related issues see Prasenjit Duara, "Knowledge and Power in the Discourse of Modernity: The Campaigns against Popular Religion in Early Twentieth-Century China," *JAS* 50:1 (February 1991), 75-76.

The attitude of conciliation that characterized the General Association was demonstrated in the choice of Taixu as editor of the organization's journal, *Buddhist Monthly* (*Fojiao Yuekan*). Renshan was made one of Taixu's assistant editors. This journal published four issues before ceasing activity in late 1913. See TXZZ, 44-45.

73. The five essentials (*buke wuzhe wu*) were freedom of organization (*buke wu ziyou zuhe zhi tuanti*), a spirit of sacrifice (*buke wu yongmeng xixing zhi jingshen*), a will to study (*buke wu shouxue qujiao zhi zhizyuan*), foresight in implementing brotherly love (*buke wu shixing bo'ai zhi choubei*), and practice in one's chosen course with peaceful resolve (*buke wu anxin liming zhi xiuzheng*). Yinshun, *Nianpu*, 59.

74. Yinshun, *Nianpu*, 59.

75. Yinshun, *Nianpu*, 60, 62. Another way that Taixu sought to change monastic organization was to cease the use of tonsure groups (*ti pai*) and dharma, or teaching, groups (*fa pai*). These resembled families too closely, he believed, and he urged that monks be organized simply as associations of individuals.

76. In his appeal for readers to join his Xia tuan (see below in text), Sha invited those interested to write to him at "Socialist Party" headquarters in Shanghai. See ZLX, 225.

77. See "Liangxin fakanci," ZLX, 246-49.

78. Wu Xiangxiang, 60, says that opposition to Jiang was increased by a pamphlet Shifu produced, "Taming the Tiger," (*Fu hu ji*), which circulated shortly before the party congress began. While Shifu had to know a great deal about Jiang's organization, his ideas, and the opposition of the "narrow" socialists, and certainly would have tried to support the latter at this time, I have seen no evidence that this group of essays existed then. This title appears earliest in a note on the *Min sheng* group's publications in no. 9 (May 9, 1914). That the title appeared in a notice does not necessarily mean it was actually published at the time. Another "advance notice" (*yugao*) on this title appeared in no. 29 (Nov. 28, 1916), about a year-and-a-half after Shifu's death. The notice in no. 9 also listed several other titles, suggesting plans to reprint a series of Shifu's essays from *Min sheng*.

79. ZLX, 250.

80. Yin's acceptance of Jiang's views is apparent in the mixed socialism he advocates. See Taixu's "Shehui Dang yu Zhongguo Shehui Dang zhi ba mianguan" (an excerpt), ZLX, 225-31.

81. Taixu developed his point by using Germany to illustrate that a society could have state socialism under a monarchical system. Such a system could operate for tens of thousands of years, he averred, and never get to anarchism.

82. ZLX, 229.

83. Martin Bernal has been most closely associated with this approach; see his "The Triumph of Anarchism over Marxism, 1906-1907." This viewpoint was greatly modified in Bernal's *Chinese Socialism*, 225-6. Although Bernal pursued this issue, it was originally posed in the early study of anarchism by Robert A. Scalapino and George T. Yu, *The Chinese Anarchist Movement* (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, 1961); for example, see 10-11, 18-19.

84. In addition to the discussion in ch. 3 above, refer to Bernal, *Chinese Socialism*, 113-15 and ch. 8. Also see CQCB, 364-401, for a selection of the information available as of 1906.

85. These same basic points of conflict between contending groups of Chinese socialists, expressed in more sophisticated terms, would play a major part in the debates between anarchists and Marxists in the early 1920s. Shifu would refine the issues further and develop the points that anarchists used against Marxists as the debates began in the 1920s. See chapters 8 and 10.

86. ZLX, 230.

87. Compare Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 216. Also see Dirlit, *Anarchism*, 123-24. In his autobiography Taixu discloses much less than the reader curious about his anarchism would wish, and in a comment that suggests why he would be reticent to say more also speaks to the point made here: "But my thinking never departed from a basis in Buddhism." See TXZZ, 33.

88. ZLX, 230.

89. See "San wu zhuyi zhi yanjiu," in ZLX, 231-34. While this discussion is labeled as a reader's contribution, it reflects Taixu's views and probably was written by him. Also see Taixu's "Wu shen lun," in *Taixu Fashi wenchao chiji* (Shanghai, 1927),

10-21. While the latter article might be from a later time, the views presented in it are consistent with Taixu's earlier thinking.

90. Refer to Michael Gasster, *Chinese Intellectuals and the Revolution of 1911* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), 198-200, for Zhang's view on this evolutionary pattern.

91. Jiang and Li, *Wuzhengfu zhuyi*, 147-8, offers this information on Sha.

92. James J.Y. Liu introduced "knight-errant" as the translation for this term and made it the subject of *The Chinese Knight-Errant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967). Liu's introduction explains the problems involved in translating the word *xia* this way; his book is in itself justification for the use of that term. While Sha Gan sought to act within the tradition of *xia* who probably were close equivalents to knights-errant in the West, the latter term does not seem appropriate to modern times. For arguments against translating the term into English and a discussion of *xia* lore, see P. C. Agnes Chan, "Liu Shifu (1884-1915): A Chinese Anarchist and the Radicalization of Chinese Thought" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California-Berkeley, 1979), 39-42. I have tried to use a translation that captures Sha Gan's immediate concerns as of 1912, as well as this tradition, which Sha clearly regarded as important. Sha used pen names such as Fenfen (Indignant), or Fenxia (Indignant Fighter), for his essays.

93. Z.LX, 224. Sha's language, including his use of the term *xia*, seems characteristic of the outlook of activists of the 1903-7 period; perhaps it reflects the newness of his enthusiasm for revolution.

94. The individual who carried out this execution was Zhang Cha, elder brother of the modernizing industrialist Zhang Jian. See Lu Zhe, *Wuzhengfu zhuyi*, 127.

95. Taixu's personal associations during 1913 reflected his political and religious activities. In June 1913 he met Zhang Taiyan in person for the first time, at "Hardoon Garden" in Shanghai, that pillar of the Buddhist revival. When Yuan Shikai's repression began in July, Taixu took refuge at the print shop and headquarters of Zongyang: *Buddhist Monthly* had been printed here, and a bond had developed between these two revolutionary monks. Lu Chongyou, another editor of *Conscience* (*Liangxin*), the Socialist Party organ, also passed this period with Zongyang. For these details, see Yinshun, *Nianpu*, 64.

96. See Soothill, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (Taipei: Chengwen, 1972), 89, also note *Cihai* entries for these terms.

97. See Gao Ruiquan, *Tianming de moluo* (Loss of the Mandate) (Shanghai: renmin chubanshe, 1991), ch. 2, esp. 79, 93-94; on Liu Shipei's use of these terms, see Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 44.

98. The *Cihai* entry on *zi wo* is not accompanied by quotation from a classical or early reference, as is standard in the dictionary. Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* (Great Chinese-Japanese dictionary) (Tokyo: Shukushaban, 1955-1960), vol. 9, 405, offers usages as far back as Song times, but lacking the sense of "selfishness" that characterizes modern usage.

99. See Jiang and Li, *Wuzhengfu zhuyi*, 163, 167. Compare Lu Zhe, *Wuzhengfu zhuyi*, 133-4.

100. See Zarrow's *Anarchism*, ch. 1.

101. The relevance of Buddhism both to anarchism and to recent intellectual developments did not end with the early Republican period. The continuing influence of Buddhist concepts is suggested in the choices of *hao* used by anarchists (and others) into

the 1920's, when such names as Xiaowo and Wuwo were often used. On the latter term and concept, during the 1920s Yang Du (1874-1932) proposed a "new Buddhism," which he believed should be based on modern science and should begin with "non-egoism" (*wu wo zhuyi*). Taixu continued his quest for a genuinely modern Buddhism. Yang Wenhui's academy and printing house in Nanjing continued its similar efforts under the leadership of Ouyang Jingwu. Further, such prominent figures as Liang Qichao and Hu Shi undertook historical studies of Buddhism, reflecting broad respect for Buddhism's place in China's intellectual development.

102. See Zhang's "Wu wu lun" (*Min bao*, no. 16) and Taixu's "Wu shen lun," in *Taixu Fashi wenchao chaji*, 10-21. The term *wushen lun* is also used for "atheism," but the broader meaning I have used here seems appropriate to the intent of these writers. Both Zhang and Taixu included religion, *zongjiao*, as a deceiving, authoritarian institution that should be negated. They were most concerned to eliminate superstition: surely that had been a basic goal of the Buddhist revival.

Buddhist thinking might also be credited with contributions to the development of logic in modern Chinese thought. An interesting specific example is that the concept of "negation of the negation" appears in Zhang's and Taixu's essays. Perhaps there were other sources for this in earlier Chinese thought, but this feature of Buddhist logic seems similar to dialectical thinking as employed in Marxist philosophy.

Chapter 7

1. Mo, HYSF, 23a. Mo had met Liu and Zheng earlier in 1911, when all three participated in the popular armies of the revolutionary movement. Mo was active in the Xiang Army, from Xiangshan (which Liu himself was not), and went to Shanghai in connection with a possible northern expedition for that army. Mo's close association with Liu began at this time; his memoir on Shifu also is based on personal experience from this point on.

2. Mo, HYSF, 57a-b. Mo says the group went to performances every three or four days. Recall Mo's involvement in revolutionary theater activities.

3. For suggestions about the possibilities and their pursuit by a figure whose behavior seems surprising, see Lee Feigon, *Chen Duxiu*, 52-53. Liu's continuing concern for women is a strong indication that he always regarded physical relations as subordinate to an emotional relationship. That he did not include a pledge against visiting prostitutes among the twelve points certainly does not mean he regarded this issue as unimportant. Rather, he regarded it as such basic moral behavior that simple decency would cover it.

4. Mo, HYSF, 4a, says that Liu stayed in Nanjing "half the spring." Mo and most other sources are too often vague regarding dates; a month's stay seems likely. Liu Shixin's account in ZLX, 930-31, notes that Sifu quickly became convinced that the new politics would become as corrupt as the old and found anarchist principles confirmed. He had already seen the new order in his home province as the revolutionary government was established in Guangzhou; now he witnessed conditions at a higher level of interest.

5. Mo, HYSF, 24a-25a.

6. Mo, HYSF, 4b. The group's new host was Lian Nanhu, whose *hao* apparently came from the location of his home, where the group lived in a building on the west side of the compound. Mo also gives (5b-6a) interesting detail on Lian's wife, Wu Zhiyun, who had previously served as an attendant to the Empress Dowager. Despite that

association. Wu had been exposed to the new thought, and she had arranged for Qiu Jin's burial after the heroine's execution in 1907.

7. Shifu later described the growth of his anarchist convictions and his projects with other Tongmenghui activists over an extended period of time. See "Bo Jiang Kanghu," MS no. 14 (June 13, 1914), 4-5 (SFWC, 235-37).

8. The covenant as annotated by Shifu appeared in *Shehui shijie* for November 1912; it is reprinted in ZLX, 235-39. The discussion that follows here pursues points raised in the commentary, which explains the relevance of the points.

9. Compare the comments of Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 189-91, and Dirlit, *Anarchism*, 120-21.

10. "Da Fanfu," SFWC, 144 (MS no. 3, p. 14). "Fifu" is a *hao* meaning "ordinary person" or "one of the masses."

11. For these four items, see SFWC, 93-125. The articles are entitled "Buxian he buyinjiu yu weisheng," "Buyong puyi, bucheng qiao ji renliche yu pingdeng zhuyi," "Fei hunyin zhuyi," and "Fei jiazu zhuyi." In his editor's preface, Zheng Peigang noted that this group of early writings was destroyed by fire when the authorities in Guangzhou raided and set fire to the printshop that had produced the pamphlets. It is not clear whether Zheng refers here (the preface was written in 1927) to pre- or post-Second Revolution conditions: the Guomindang revolutionary government was largely supportive of Shifu's activities.

12. Whereas these points were basic for Shifu, they were incorporated in successive levels of difficulty for other groups such as the Society to Advance Morality.

13. Shifu also commented on Tolstoy's views in his "Introduction to Vegetarianism," a later essay in *Voice of the People*, where he also gave a further explanation. See "Sushi zhuyi qianshuo," SFWC, 85-92 (MS no. 7, 1-5).

14. In his initial statement Shifu noted that exceptions should be allowed in times of sickness. This statement mentioned only "medicines," however, so presumably he distinguished eating meat as part of one's diet from the act of taking medicine.

15. SFWC, 98.

16. SFWC, 100.

17. ZLX, 236. David Strand reports in *Rickshaw Beijing: City People and Politics in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), ch. 11, that even in the middle 1920s ricksha pullers organized a union and used many kinds of collective action, including violence, to save their jobs against mechanized forms of transportation. It is worth noting that, even today, a person may be carried up a mountain for a price; the laborer may earn as much in a few hours as he could otherwise earn in a month (I write from observation, not from having been carried).

18. SFWC, 103. Shifu does not provide the source for this quotation, and I have not been able to locate it precisely; Bakunin made many such statements.

19. ZLX, 236.

20. ZLX, 237.

21. Here Shifu introduces a physiological argument, claiming that "sexual relations are for the purpose of reducing a physical surplus." Sexual activity is different from other physical needs because it requires two people; "the need for reduction is activated by passion," which is the equivalent of hunger or thirst. Shifu credits "a certain person" for this idea, who almost certainly was Li Shizeng. See Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 143. Whereas according to Zarrow, Li seems to have incorporated Daoist thinking into his

rationale, Shifu here (SFWC, 110) describes passion, like hunger and thirst, simply as a physiological signal.

22. As Shifu put it here, "If it rains too much, this is called *yin*; if people engage in sex too much, this also is called *yin*." SFWC, 113.

23. Compare Zarrow's comments on He Zhen's views on these questions, *Anarchism*, 140.

24. SFWC, 114.

25. SFWC, 115.

26. Li's essay is reprinted in ZLXJ, 1015-21.

27. SFWC, 116.

28. ZLX, 237.

29. ZLX, 238.

30. ZLX, 238.

31. For background on these ethnic differences, see Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 8-14. There were also important political differences between Hu and Chen. Hu believed in a strong party organization and had opposed the assassination activity of Liu Sifu and others. Chen had been a member of the China Assassination Corps and like Shifu emphasized social reform.

32. The new provincial government made the razing of the wall one of its major public works projects, intending to replace it with a broad boulevard to facilitate transportation. This project was begun, but was halted when revenues ran short; it was resumed in 1918. Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 256.

33. The businessman had built an entertainment center that included a theater and a park.

34. Rhoads notes this merchant-gentry division in Guangzhou; see "Merchant Associations in Canton, 1895-1911," in *The Chinese City between Two Worlds*, Mark Elvin and G. William Skinner, eds. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), 101-2. It is not clear whether Shifu chose Cunshan East Street as the original site for his work because he thought that the merchant area offered better prospects, or if he located there simply because the facilities were good and the rent attractive.

35. Other possible translations include "crying out in the darkness" or "arousing the people." The term used in this organization's name is not that for "association," but rather the one used in *sushe*, "dormitory," so I have rendered it here as "center."

36. Mo, HYSF, 53a-56b. I have listed the sisters here in order of their ages, eldest to youngest. Mo notes that they also dropped the use of their family name; Wudeng and Wuwei also were revolutionary names, in the style that Shifu adopted.

37. While this alliance was a marriage for all practical purposes, it should be noted that Peigang and Wudeng saw their relationship as a new-style anarchist love relationship, which at the least would have no ceremonies to mark the beginning of a marriage.

38. Mo, HYSF, 36b-37b and 53a-56b. Shixin, whose name was inspired by Shifu's, was next oldest to Shifu among the sons in the Liu family. He had been a student at the Whampoa Military Preparatory School, from which he was released through the intervention of He Zhongda, Mo Jipeng's friend, who lived at East Park and remained in the army. Shixin and Baozhen both later studied at the Chinese University in Lyons, France, one of the major ongoing projects of the Paris group of anarchists. There were eleven children in the Liu family, five boys and six girls. Shifu was the

second son, but the eldest had died young. The youngest brother and two youngest sisters were too young to share in Shifu's activities.

39. Mo, HYSF, 38b, provides the sole mention of Zheng Bi'an's wife.

40. Mo, HYSF, 38b. Mo also notes that two other people from Dongguan lived near East Park; they were attracted by the Esperanto classes.

41. Huang, HYSF, 26, mentions Zheng Daoshi and Yang Ziyi. Zheng Daoshi obviously might have been related to Zheng Bi'an.

42. Feng Ziyu describes Liao's career in GMYS, vol. 3, 258-64.

43. Huang, HYSF, 26, 38. Liang Bingxian had become an important voice in anarchist journals by the late 1910s and early 1920s.

44. Huang, HYSF, 52. Xu had been among the early groups of Chinese students at Lyons. His previous attempts to teach Esperanto had been made at Southern Military School (*Nan wu xuexiao*) and at Qiming School, both presumably in Guangzhou.

45. He Zhongda, for example, remained active in his military career, serving as deputy chief of staff of the provincial army. But he gave a portion of his salary to support the group's work (Mo, HYSF, 38b, 47b). Lin Zhimian became manager of a bank, and he too contributed part of his income (Mo, HYSF, 33b-34a).

46. Huang, HYSF, pt. 2, 14. Huang describes the person who provided this gift as "a certain person upon whom the southern revolutionary government relied heavily and who was a close friend of Shifu." This could have been Xie Yingbo. Mo, HYSF, 44a, mentions a large contribution by Huang Mingtang, an important military leader of the Republican forces, who had been deeply moved by the Conscience Society's statement, and presented the group "a roll of money as big as a cigar." Perhaps these were two separate contributions; in any case, there were some large gifts.

47. The first such list of contributions, MS [Huimung lu] no. 1, 12, gave a summary of amounts received prior to establishing the journal. The total was 4,600 yuan, of which members of the group had given 1,200 themselves. Two other individual contributors had given 1,100 and 2,000 yuan, respectively. Shifu noted that these funds had been used to produce 15,000 of the volumes of translations described below, and 10,000 of the postcards that also were used to introduce anarchism.

48. Mo, HYSF, 32b-33b, lists these anthologies, putting this one last and noting that most of the items in it also were republished by Li Shizeng's World Publishing Company (*Shijie shuju she*) in Shanghai.

49. The clearest listing of these anthologies appears in MS no. 30 (March 15, 1921), English-language section, 4-5. This was the first issue of the revived journal, and the editors included this summary of the earlier activities of Shifu's group. For the Chinese titles see the last page of no. 8 (May 2, 1914). In the order given in the text, the titles are as follows: *Xin Shiji congshu*; *Wuzhengfu zhuyi*; *Junren zhi Baofu*; and *Wuzhengfu zhuyi Mingzhu Congke*.

50. MS no. 30, English section, 4.

51. This piece carries the Chinese title "Geming yuanli"; the author's name is given only as "A Renovator" (*Gexin zhi yiren*). Li Shizeng, the translator, noted that this essay was originally entitled "The inevitability of revolution" (*Geming bi hakemzan*).

52. For this brief discussion, "Shehui zhuyi shiyi," the author's name is given as "Hemeng," probably Herman; again, Li Shizeng was the translator.

53. Li Shizeng compiled the expository piece on Kropotkin and translated the pamphlet, which was first published in 1886. It is reprinted in Roger N. Baldwin, ed., *Pamphlets*.

54. Shifu repeated this point often; see subsequent discussions.

55. Of the items in these anthologies, one is especially interesting because of the attention it has drawn from American social scientists in recent years. This was "The Rejection of Marriage by Some Guangdong Women," which obviously also held special interest for the anthology's Cantonese readers at the time. This piece, written by "Old Han" (*Lao Han*), described a custom practiced in Xunde and Nanhai counties of Guangdong, in which young women who did not want to marry the man chosen by their parents would go through the marriage ceremony and take up residence in the husband's home, then starve themselves for three days, refusing to have sexual relations with the husband. At the end of that time they would return to their parents' homes, and afterward live a solitary life. "Lao Han" concluded that the marriage system reflected oppression in Chinese society, that women have as much ability to resist oppression as do men, and that the sexes would be equal after the economic revolution. This early discussion of an unusual local custom did not emphasize, as contemporary studies have done, that the practice depended on the fact that these young women enjoyed a high degree of economic independence because of the importance of the silk industry in the local economies of these two counties.

In the most comprehensive recent study of this marriage practice, Janice E. Stockard has found that marriage resistance was part of an adaptation to changing economic circumstances in several counties of southern Guangdong where sericulture was a major activity. Resistance grew out of the practice of "delayed transfer marriage," which allowed young women to continue working for their own families rather than joining the economic units of their husbands' families. In another form of resistance, marriage was dispensed with altogether. In all forms, marriage resistance represented economic necessity as much as independence. See Stockard's *Daughters of the Canton Delta: Marriage Patterns and Economic Strategies in South China, 1860-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989).

56. For this background, see Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 238-40.

57. As Mo recollects (HYSF, 33a-b, 40a-b), Chen's request went as follows: "All our friends agree as to what is the truth. But the *Soldier's Gospel* cannot be sent to men in the camps and ships. I hope all the comrades will heed this request."

Other local officials were less understanding. Among these was Chen Jinghua, who had helped to release Shifu from jail in 1909. Chen had joined the Tongmenghui, and when the new government was established in Guangzhou, he was made head of the provincial police. One evening he sat in on a meeting at the East Park branch, wearing civilian clothes; the following morning he posted a police notice to the Cock-Crow group's door. Unruffled, Lin Zhimian went directly to the governor's office and obtained a notice from Hu Hanmin reversing Chen's order. There were also other instances when local officials attempted to restrict the group's activities. If such personal connections failed to produce the desired results, Shifu could still rely on Pan Dawei and his *Pingmin Bao* to rally popular support to challenge the authorities.

58. This discussion is based on Rhoads' survey of the government's reform policies, *Republican Revolution*, 251-59.

59. Rhoads accepts K. S. Latourette's estimate of 65 percent as the proportion of Christian or mission school-educated officials (*Republican Revolution*, 255 and 321, n. 74).

60. Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 255, describes the activities of a Bomb-throwing Brigade (*Zhadan dui*) comprised of overseas Chinese Christians who returned to Guangzhou to destroy Buddhist and Daoist images. Like the Qing government in the previous few years and also other revolutionary governments, the Guangzhou government also had a policy of confiscating temples for use as offices or schools.

61. Huang, HYSF, 52-54. According to Huang, this was the building where, some years earlier, Kang Youwei opened his Nanqiang Academy.

62. Huang, HYSF, 56.

63. Huang, HYSF, 56-58, provides these details. He notes that of those in the Esperanto classes who had previously studied abroad, most had been in Japan. Waseda University, which attracted extremely bright students, was well-represented in the classes. The Society probably was organized in early 1913; in *Famous Works on Anarchism*, published April 1913, the East Park address is given for those who wish to contact the Society.

64. Huang, HYSF, 56-58. Occasionally a special guest would participate in the Sunday gatherings. One such visitor was Ye Xiasheng, a Tongmenghui stalwart who had been elected to the national assembly. Several years earlier Ye had contributed an article opposing anarchism to *Min Bao*; by 1912-13 he was willing to discuss important issues with anarchists.

65. Peter G. Forster, *The Esperanto Movement* (New York: Mouton, 1982) provides a useful survey of the growth of the Esperanto movement; chs. 2-5 discuss historical developments to the early 1920s.

66. Chinese Esperantists called the latter magazine *Datong zazhi* (Huang, HYSF, 58); also see MS [Huiming lu] no. 1 (Aug. 20, 1913), 11-12.

67. Huang, HYSF, 61-62. Some members of Zheng's own family also took the course.

68. Huang, HYSF, 63-66, describes the Shanghai Esperanto Society's activities and leadership. Huang regards Lu as equally important to Xu Lunbo in the Esperanto movement in China; he indicates that Lu began to study Esperanto during a sojourn in Japan.

69. Huang, HYSF, 43-44.

70. Mo, HYSF, 38a, comments on the good food available at Cunshan East Street; he and the other East Park residents looked for reasons to be present at dinnertime.

71. Mo, HYSF, 39a, comments on Zheng Bi'an's compulsiveness about sanitary conditions, which Shifu and others in the group evidently shared. While this wholesale adoption of Western customs in food service seems excessive, it suggests the degree to which new ways had penetrated among the educated elite. Such compulsiveness might also suggest the nature of an individual's devotion to the ideals of anarchism.

72. Mo, HYSF, 36b. Mo described the equipment as "new-style," and it must have been fairly expensive, however, neither Mo nor other sources indicate where the funds came from to purchase the equipment.

73. Mo, HYSF, 58b, says that Shifu "had shown signs of tuberculosis" well before his final illness in winter 1914-15.

74. The biography in SFWC, 3, notes that after his release from jail in 1909, Liu Shifu did not visit his grandmother until after he had been fitted with an artificial arm. Tradition regarding filial behavior called for an individual to keep one's body whole as a duty. If Shifu did not adhere to this point as part of his own principles, he loved his grandmother dearly and tried to keep from upsetting her.

75. Huang, HYSF, 42.

76. Mo, HYSF, 35b-36a.

77. Huang, HYSF, 28-29.

78. Huang, HYSF, 44-45, observes that these episodes became the basis for humorous reminiscences in later years.

79. For these details, see Mo, HYSF, 57a-61a. Mo here gives a candid statement about the deterioration of the relationship. Although Mo again is not specific about time, he does indicate that the decline in Shifu's affection was well along by the beginning of 1913.

80. In 1922 Mo Jipeng was called to Chen Jiongming's office, at a time when Chen controlled Guangdong. There he met Ding, who had become quite poor and, apparently, disillusioned. Chen directed Mo to give her all the money in his possession at the time. After she left, Chen gave Mo several of Shifu's books, which she had brought with her. Mo thought that Ding appeared older, but healthy. He never saw her again after this encounter (Mo, HYSF, 60a-b).

81. While Mo's account and references to the relationship are candid, it does not offer the speculation that follows, for which I myself assume responsibility. I have reflected on these issues and tried to consider all possible explanations, without departing from what sources say or imply. Mo notes, 58a-b, that even members of the group could find out little about the couple's feelings toward each other. The statement about mixing private and public appears on 64a. In conversations, Mo repeatedly emphasized that this was the single exception in Shifu's behavior, but that it seemed an important exception.

Agnes Chan discusses Shifu's behavior in the relationship with Ding, "Liu Shifu," 150-51.

82. One or two Chinese colleagues who have studied Shifu's career have suggested that Ding was "not a good person." Such a characterization could mean a number of things: Had Ding been overly aggressive in the relationship? In Chinese morality at the time, should the woman be blamed for allowing the romantic relationship to be consummated sexually? Had she persisted after Shifu told her he no longer loved her? Shifu's brother Shixin comments in his memoir (ZLX, 934) that he rejected an offer of marriage in 1915 because he "learned from the failed relationship of Shifu and Xiangtian" and "believed that no woman was dependable." Shixin also says (p. 937) that at the time he held his older brother in awe; perhaps his comment about Ding expressed sadness rather than a negative judgment of her. In any case, claims that she lacked character seem vague and overly defensive of Shifu.

83. Mo, HYSF, 47a-48b, discusses the commune project.

84. Shifu probably had seen this book, which was one of Kropotkin's most practically oriented works. He listed it in his bibliography of anarchist literature in MS no. 17, 11-12.

85. Mo, HYSF, 48a, notes that a desirable site at Whampoa had been considered, which had more than two hundred mou of paddy field. However, the price asked for the property was out of reach for the group's resources.

86. The title appears in a list of the group's publications at the end of *Famous Works of Anarchism*, of April 1913. A note announced that the first issue would soon be delivered to the printer.

87. In a note at the end of MS. no. 1, Shifu stated that preparation of the facilities had necessitated a delay in publishing the first issue.

88. Rhoads, *Republican Revolution*, 261-63, provides details of the Second Revolution in Guangdong. By summer 1913 the revolutionaries no longer had the support of either the merchants or their own army. The merchants withdrew their support because the government failed to achieve financial stability. The army's behavior is somewhat more difficult to understand. Chen Jiongming was removed by a mutiny of his own troops, who refused to follow his orders to resist Long Jiguang's advance toward Guangzhou. The mutiny's leaders hoped to retain some degree of provincial autonomy, and they thought that Long would not advance if they did not resist him.

89. See "Bianji xuyan," MS [Huiming lu], no. 1, 1-2.

90. The term *pingmin* had been used by revolutionists for at least a decade by this time, to represent both egalitarian and class themes and goals of revolutionary activity. The Japanese journal *Heimin shimbun*, organ of Kotoku Shusui and fellow Japanese socialists, seems a likely inspiration for Shifu, as well as many similarly named publications in Europe with which Chinese activists were well acquainted by this time. More immediately, Shifu might have hesitated to use this name because of possible confusion with Pan Dauer's *Pingmin bao*, referred to above.

91. MS no. 1, 2.

92. The 1992 reprint of MS edited by Hazama Naoki includes the Esperanto supplements.

93. See "Wuzhengfu qianshuo," MS no. 1, 2-8. This essay was reprinted as a pamphlet; it also appears as the first item in SFWC.

94. MS no. 1, 4. Although Shifu did not name those with whom he disagreed, there is no question that he meant the Paris group and Cai Yuanpei (his statements of other disagreements with the Paris group also appeared in this first issue of the journal; see below). While in France, Wu Zihui and Li Shizeng had provided work for Chinese students in their various ventures. Beginning in 1912 this effort was formalized in the Society for Frugal Study in France (*LiuFa jianxue hui*). Although the movement soon foundered because of World War I, it was revived in 1918 and reached a peak in 1921, when it enrolled more than a thousand students, just as it began to encounter financial problems. Among those who were attracted to this study-in-France movement were Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi, although neither went beyond applying.

95. MS no. 1, 7.

96. To strengthen his point further, Shifu quoted a statement that he attributed to William II of Germany: "The anarchist party can unite all countries into one body, but the individual nations cannot come together in a great international alliance." (MS no. 1, 8) Shifu offers no source for this statement; he might have gotten it from Kropotkin.

97. See "Zhengzhi zhi zhendou," MS no. 1, 8-10.

98. MS no. 1, 8.

99. MS no. 1, 10.

100. This period is the subject of Ernest Young's *The Presidency of Yuan Shih-kai*. For an analysis of the frustrations of parliamentary governance and party-building during the early Republican period and the leaders mentioned here, also see ch. 2 of Edward

Friedman, *Backward Toward Revolution*. The assassination of Song Jiaoren in spring 1913 and the dismissal of Hu Hanmin as governor of Guangdong, referred to above, of the Second Revolution for an extended tour of the United States; he died shortly after returning to China in autumn 1916. Sun's experience during the first years of the Republic under Yuan's control led him to decide that a militant party prepared to wrest power by force would be necessary, and he began to build the Chinese Revolutionary Party (*Zhongguo Geming Dang*).

101. See "Zhengzhi yu Shehui Dang," MS no. 2, 1-4.

102. Quoted in MS no. 2, 2. It is ironic that Yuan now used the argument that Jiang Kanghu made to him in their interview in Beijing in 1912; there is no way to know if that interview was the source of Yuan's pretext here.

103. MS no. 2, 3-4. Shifu's historical appendix here is a useful source on this subject.

104. See "Zai zhi Wu Zihui shu," MS no. 2, 7-11. Approximately half of this space is taken up with the first letter to Wu, Wu's reply, and the letter to Zhang, which went unanswered.

105. Quoted in MS no. 2, 8.

106. For a discussion of this transition by the first generation of anarchists, see Zarrow, *Anarchism*, ch. 8.

107. MS no. 4, 1. It appears that Long simply applied enough pressure to get the group to leave Guangzhou. Surely he could easily have taken them into custody.

108. Huang, HYSF, pt. 2, 5. Huang's memoir is the only source that provides details on the group's two relocations during the six months following their departure from Guangzhou. However, he does not indicate a specific time for the flight from Guangzhou.

109. Huang, HYSF, pt. 2, 5. Huang notes that the group stayed briefly at 41 South Park, a former Tongmenghui branch office from which Shifu, Mo Jipeng, and others in the group had operated in earlier years. Before long they found a more permanent situation at 11 Black Sand Bay; Shifu gave this address for those who wished to correspond with him in MS no. 3, 12.

110. A note to those who would help disseminate *Min sheng*, MS no. 3, 12, suggests the hope of broader circulation through the mail.

111. Virtually every country of Europe was represented, along with many others. See MS no. 3, 9-10, where the *Maoriland Worker*, from New Zealand, represents the most remote location. These lists were continued in no. 4, 10-11, where "Bohemia," Brazil, and Siberia are represented. A journal entitled *Kampf*, joint publication of the Anarchist and Labor Parties in Germany, is also mentioned. In no. 4, the first correspondence from the Japanese anarchist Yamaga Taiji is listed; many years later, Yamaga published studies on Shifu and the anarchist movement in China, which Phil Billingsley has kindly provided to me.

112. MS no. 4, 12, where Shifu gave an address for the group at the American post office in Shanghai. This announcement might be the source of some confusion as to where no. 4 was printed. In his preface to the 1967 reprint edition of *Min sheng*, Martin Bernal states that only no. 3 was published at Macao. However, the "Biography" in SFWC says that two issues were published at Macao. The Huang memoir indicates that Shifu planned well in advance of the move to Shanghai and evidently arranged for the

postal box. Bernal also suggests that no. 4 was actually issued sometime later than the date it bears (Dec. 27, 1913); this is probably correct. Chinese journals throughout these years used dating and other means to confuse the authorities. It does seem most unlikely that the only two numbers printed at Macao would have been issued only one week apart and this early in the group's stay there.

113. Huang, HYSF, pt. 2, 6.

114. Shifu expressed his outrage at both Li Yuanhong and Li Kaishen in MS no. 4, 1. This material in no. 4 and the actual time of Shifu's departure from Macao, February 1914, further suggest that this issue was published after December 27, 1913.

115. Huang, HYSF, pt. 2, 6.

116. "Wubei xiang qianjin," MS no. 4, 1-2.

117. MS no. 4, 1-2.

Chapter 8

1. See "Wuzhengfu zhuyi zai Zhongguo ruogan shishi," in ZLX, 938. Zheng's account is both useful and arresting, as it offers further details on Shifu and continues with Zheng's own devoted career, which persisted into the 1930s. For the sisters accompanying Shifu and Zheng to Shanghai, see MS no. 5 (April 11, 1914), 11.

2. In ZLX, 945, Zheng Peigang describes his farewell to his elder brother in Hong Kong on the ship he had boarded with the group's printing press and equipment.

3. Mo, HYSF, 48a. Goldman herself was featured with a photo and brief sketch of her work on the first page of MS no. 21 (August 2, 1914), and several of her publications were included in listings of reading material on anarchism in the preceding two issues of the journal.

4. Osugi was very close to Shifu in years, born in 1885. An anarchist and Esperantist since the early years of the century, Osugi became the leading figure in Japanese anarchism after the execution of Kotoku Shusui and eleven others for treason in 1911. He preferred Bakunin to Kropotkin as a model for his own anarchist activism; he was a sensational presence and powerful speaker. Osugi himself became a victim of suppression when in 1923 following the great Tokyo earthquake he was executed in a general roundup of socialists.

5. For these details see Mukai Ko, *Yamaga Taiji: Hito to sono Shogai* (Yamaga Taiji: The Man and His Life) (Tokyo: Seiga bo, 1974), 36-40. Yamaga lived from 1892 to 1970; he maintained contacts with Chinese anarchists and made several visits to China during the 1910s and 1920s. I am indebted to Phil Billingsley for providing me with a copy of this and other Japanese works on anarchism. Zheng Peigang also recalled Yamaga's presence with the group at Shanghai; see ZLX, 946. Shifu listed Yamaga as one of many international comrades from whom *Min sheng* had received correspondence; see MS no. 4 (Dec. 27, 1913), 11.

6. See ZLX, 946, where Zheng Peigang has Taixu, identified as Lewu, still present with the group after Shifu's death. This contradicts Taixu's autobiography (refer to chapter 6). Zheng here also mentions that Lu Shiqing and Cheng Guocheng focused on Esperanto work during this Shanghai period (on Cheng, see chapter 9). A "Russian nihilist" identified as "Shidemen" also joined in the group's activities at this time. Other names mentioned here are Bai Pingzhou, Shen Ruoxian, "Zhuchen," and Huang Chanxia.

7. There was no regular section for these replies to readers' letters, and Shifu's

replies often were continued in successive issues of MS. Thus, the reprints of Shifu's replies in SFWC are easier to use in research.

8. The "Proclamation" (*Wuzhengfu gongchan zhuyi tongzhi she xuanyan shu*) appeared in MS no. 17 (July 4, 1914), 1-3; also see SFWC, 53-56. For "Goals and Methods" (*Wuzhengfu gongchan dang zhi medi yu shouduan*), see MS no. 19 (July 18, 1914), 6-9, or SFWC, 45-51. Formation of the Society had been announced earlier, in MS no. 15 (June 20, 1914), 9.

9. MS no. 17, 1.

10. MS no. 17, 1-2.

11. MS no. 17, 2.

12. MS no. 17, 2.

13. MS no. 17, 2.

14. MS no. 17, 3.

15. Shifu noted that his list of goals was not exhaustive; he emphasized those that he saw as particularly important in China.

16. MS no. 19, 6. Here Shifu noted parenthetically that it would become unnecessary to rent from a landlord or be hired by a factory owner, as under the current system. I have translated *shengchanjia* as "those involved in production."

17. Shifu regarded as labor every kind of work needed for human life, whether agricultural, communications, health or medical, educational, or other activity; see his parenthetical comment in this item. Shifu's view of labor is discussed below in this chapter.

18. MS no. 19, 6. "jie dang de zui gaodeng zhi xuewen." Shifu does not say here "the highest possible level of education" or otherwise suggest matching the level of education to the capabilities of the individual. This might be an oversight; more likely it is his expression of an absolutely egalitarian view.

19. MS no. 19, 7. Shifu regularly spoke of the necessity of getting "a majority of the people" (*duoshu ren*) to understand the principles of anarchism.

20. MS no. 19, 7.

21. MS no. 19, 7.

22. MS no. 19, 7.

23. MS no. 19, 7.

24. MS no. 19, 9.

25. Perry Link discusses this feature of contemporary political rhetoric in *Evening Out in Beijing* (New York: Norton, 1992), 9-10, and more extensively in ch. 4.

26. MS no. 6, 6-7.

27. See "Sun Yixian Jiang Kanghu zhi shehui zhuyi," MS no. 6 (April 18, 1914), 1-7, reprinted SFWC, 21-32.

28. MS no. 6, 3. The term *shangcheng* is a reference to Mahayana Buddhism. Sun's use of this term in his talks to the Chinese Socialist Party is another suggestion that many in that audience would understand this reference: these were the Buddhist clergy and laymen who bolted to the Socialist Party (refer to ch. 6). Sun's analogy seems not completely appropriate, however, because advocates of Mahayana Buddhism had claimed the term "greater vehicle" because of the accessibility of this interpretation of the faith. Here, Sun said that the Chinese people were not prepared to implement communism, the "greater vehicle" of socialism.

29. MS no. 6, 3.

30. MS no. 6, 3-4. Shifu here addressed a sophisticated theoretical point. It is more than possible that his source of information was V. N. Cherkessov, a Georgian anarchist who was a longtime associate of Kropotkin, producing a number of analyses of Marxism written from an anarchist point of view. MS no. 18 (July 11, 1914), 12, lists one of Cherkessov's works, *The Concentration of Capital*, with a number of other Western-language publications available from either the London-based anarchist journal *Freedom* or Emma Goldman's *Mother Earth* in New York. The name is spelled "Tcherkesoffs" in MS, but undoubtedly this is the same person. A total of thirty works, with all titles given in English, are listed in the closing pages of nos. 17, 18, and 20; again, this points up the importance of international contacts for Shifu and his group. Arif Dirlik, *Anarchism*, 224-30, discusses the role played by Cherkessov's works in Chinese anarchists' critiques of Bolshevism during the 1920s. Additional background on Cherkessov may be found in Paul Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

31. MS no. 6, 4.

32. Shifu's comment again highlights Sun's hesitance to express his own more radical views out of concern that they would alienate potential supporters. Compare Friedman, *Backward Toward Revolution*, 10, and Bernal, *Chinese Socialism*, 193.

33. For this response see MS no. 8, 11-12.

34. MS no. 8, 12.

35. Compare Friedman, *Backward Toward Revolution*, 27, for a suggestion of the possible significance of these alleged activities of Sun.

36. MS no. 6, 4. Shifu addressed comments Jiang had made in 'A Critique of a Critique of Socialism' (*Shehui zhuyi shangque an*) (see Jiang's *Hongshui ji*, 38-45). While Jiang did not write this essay for his debate with Shifu, the latter used it because it displayed the confusion he believed characterized Jiang.

37. *Budongchan* is a likely borrowing from Japanese, where *fudosan* means "real estate"; the word appears countless times in Japanese cities at offices where residential and business properties are sold and rented. Jiang's use of the term would reflect his early sojourns in Japan. My thanks to Douglas Reynolds for pointing out this Japanese meaning of the term.

38. Quotations from MS no. 6, 5.

39. See "Da Li Jinxiang," MS no. 11 (May 23, 1914), 6-10, and no. 12 (May 30), 3-6; or SFWC, 179-91. For "Bo Jiang Kanghu," see MS no. 14 (June 13), 3-11, and no. 15 (June 2), 3-9; or SFWC, 223-51. "Jiang Kanghu zhi wuzhengfu zhuyi" appeared in MS no. 17 (July 4), 6-7, and no. 18 (July 11), 5-7; or SFWC, 307-15.

40. For example, see MS no. 12, 5, and no. 14, 3-4.

41. Here Shifu referred to the Austrian thinker Edmund Husserl (1859-1938). Shifu apparently had developed some familiarity with Husserl's thought; the name is mentioned only this once in this group of discussions (MS no. 12, 9).

42. MS no. 15, 6. Shifu quoted from one of Jiang's postcards, in which Jiang claimed to have devised this term ten years previously (this would have been some years before Jiang began to advocate socialism as such, but not earlier than his projects for women's education). Jiang's *Hongshui ji* includes an essay with this title from June 1911.

43. MS no. 17, 6.

44. MS no. 18, 5. Shifu did not indicate his source in Tolstoy's works.

45. MS no. 18, 6.

46. MS no. 18, 7.

47. See MS no. 15, 8.

48. Refer to Chapter 6 for details on this meeting.

49. MS no. 6, 6.

50. Ye's statement appeared in MS no. 12 (May 30, 1914), 10-12. Ye agreed with Shifu's claims that Jiang was not really a socialist. He included a personal note describing Jiang's eagerness to hold a memorial gathering for Chen Yilong following his execution in 1913. (Chen appeared a threat to Yuan Shikai because of his successful organizational work on behalf of the Chinese Socialist Party; refer to chapter 6.) Jiang had proceeded with this meeting despite the opposition of Ye and others. Ye and the others saw Jiang's behavior as grossly opportunistic because he seemed more interested in using the occasion to attract new supporters than in somber reverence for a martyred comrade.

51. MS no. 20 (July 25, 1914), 11.

52. MS no. 14, 8. Jiang used the conventional term *Ru jia* for Confucianism.

53. MS no. 14, 8.

54. MS no. 14, 10.

55. On this background, see Nomad, "Anarchist Tradition," 61-62.

56. MS no. 15, 3-4.

57. Refer to Chapter 2 for these developments within the European anarchist movement.

58. Probably the most accessible statements of Kropotkin's views on these questions are in "Expropriation," ch. 4 of *The Conquest of Bread*. Especially in the closing paragraphs, Kropotkin states well a rationale for the principles embodied in the slogan, "to each according to his need": food, clothing, shelter, and all other such basic amenities are essential to everyone's living, and they should have no price put on them.

59. This failure resulted from the biggest of several financial scandals in Bakunin's career. Bakunin had used much of a very large amount of money given by Carlo Cafiero for the anarchist movement, to refurbish Bakunin's house in Ticino, Italy. Nomad, "Anarchist Tradition," 70. By this time Bakunin had retired from activism.

60. Some regard this lack of enthusiasm for a new international organization as a lingering effect of the suppression of the Paris Commune in 1871.

61. Perhaps the memory of 1871 affected the Marxists' decision to exclude anarchists from the new International. By the 1890s another factor entered into their consideration: the new International was rightly wary of the tactic of terrorism then accepted by most anarchists.

62. Essays outlining many of the salient features of this history comprise *The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864-1943*, ed. M. M. Drachkovitch. Especially relevant to this discussion are Nomad's discussion of the anarchists, "Anarchist Tradition," 57-92, and (also in Drachkovitch) Gerhart Niemeyer, "The Second International, 1889-1914," 95-127.

63. Also see Dirlit, *Anarchism*, 141-45, for a discussion of state socialism vs. anarchism and related issues.

64. Arif Dirlit observed that even as Shifu attacked Jiang Kanghu for supporting abolition of the right of inheritance, he overlooked the fact that Bakunin had supported that idea at the time of his break with Marx. See Dirlit's *Anarchism*, 144, where he notes that Shifu surely must have known of Bakunin's position. Nomad addresses the

inheritance issue in "Anarchist Tradition," 59-69. To summarize Nomad's discussion, while Bakunin did indeed support abolition of the right of inheritance at the Basel Congress in 1869, by that point he took this position to keep from alienating peasant members of his movement who would have balked at expropriation. Thus, his position on the inheritance issue had become more a matter of tactics than of principle by 1869. In his responses to Bakunin after the split of 1871-72, Marx ridiculed Bakunin for his position on the inheritance question. For Marx's comments, see David McLellan, ed., *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), "On Bakunin's *Statism and Anarchy*," 561-63.

65. See "Da Guixiao," SFWC, 195.

66. SFWC, 195. Shifu also uses 1911 as an example of the momentum of revolution in "Da Cai Xiongfei," SFWC, 273.

67. "Da Cai Xiongfei," SFWC, 277.

68. See "Da Piaopiao," MS no. 16, 11-12 (SFWC, 253-56).

69. This is the subject of a second response to Guixiao, SFWC 301-2.

70. "Da Wuchen," SFWC, 292. Shifu thought it would be easier to establish good schools in rural areas than in cities (287).

71. SFWC, 292.

72. Shifu's knowledge of the *Nanyang* Chinese community had to be accurate. He had lived in both Hong Kong and Macao briefly, and some of his comrades spent time in Southeast Asia. Of these comrades, Liang Bingxian was probably the most active and best-informed. Liang edited two journals, one in Singapore and one in Rangoon, during periods when he was not active with Shifu and *Voice of the People*. See the notices in MS nos. 11 and 13.

73. Some accounts of Shifu's career appear to suggest that Shifu himself engaged in labor organizing. I have seen no evidence that he did so. It appears to me that Shifu remained too busy at the basic task of propagating anarchist theory, and that he assumed that others would take responsibility for various projects including labor organizing. After Shifu's death, members of his group, especially Zheng Peigang and Shifu's younger brother Shixin, did proceed with efforts to organize workers (see chapter 9).

74. SFWC, 145-46.

75. See MS nos. 21 and 23. No. 21 carries the date of August 2, 1914, but probably the last few numbers appeared later than the dates shown on the masthead. The second discussion was reprinted in SFWC, 81-84, where Zheng Peigang notes it as dating from November 1914. It was not unusual for publications to use dates to suggest stability and continuity, rather than the actual time of publication. Shifu appears to have maintained continuity and accurate dating up to summer 1914.

76. MS no. 21, 9.

77. The demonstration had gotten into the American section of Shanghai, so the police were American. The workers retreated into the Chinese city.

78. Reflecting on the strike years later, Zheng Peigang recalled the problems Shifu and his group had experienced in his efforts to communicate with the workers. See Zheng's reminiscences, ZLX, 947-48.

79. MS no. 23, 10.

80. MS no. 23, 10.

81. See Elizabeth Perry, *Shanghai on Strike*, ch. 2, esp. 43-46. As of 1914 labor groups retained many features of traditional guilds, including organization according to native-place. The painters' union included workers from Ningbo, Shaoxing, and

Shanghai. The strongest carpenters' guild was made up of Guangzhou people who had originally migrated to Shanghai in the 1850s. Given Shifu's Guangdong origins, an association with this guild might have been his entry into the laborers' world in Shanghai. However, Perry points out that another carpenters' guild also sprang from workers of Shanghai-Ningbo-Shaoxing origin, and it was this group that joined the painters when the strike broadened. Cooperation across trades also meant that workers from different places were beginning to join together. Perry notes that this round of strikes also brought challenges to the paternalism of the guild system, as ordinary workers resisted decisions made by their leaders.

82. MS no. 22 featured statements and brief articles by the Dutch anarchists Domela Nieuwenhuis and "comrade Kreu," expressing uncompromising opposition to the war. Shifu's editorial comment supported this position, while acknowledging the rationale, in historical and political logic, of Kropotkin's decision. See MS no. 1, 8-10.

83. For the Kropotkin article see MS no. 22, 1-8. This was actually a letter that Kropotkin had written to the editors of *Freedom*, and it had appeared in the August issue. Kropotkin's decision to support France and Britain against Germany led to breaks with many other anarchists who opposed the war, in what became a difficult period for Kropotkin. For comments on this and other events of Kropotkin's last years, see Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 217-21. Woodcock relates Kropotkin's anti-German stand to his Russian background, specifically to his experience in the populist movement. The populists had blamed the most severe features of tsarism on the influence of Prussian authoritarianism, and they also believed that after the unification of Germany, every aspect of German life including even its socialism, was growing ever more authoritarian.

84. MS no. 22, 9.

85. MS no. 22, 8-9.

86. Mo, HYSF, 61b.

87. Mo, HYSF, 62a-b, says that Lin Junfu appealed to other friends, even some friends back in Guangzhou, to pawn their best fur coats to obtain money for Shifu's medical bills.

88. Mo, HYSF, 62b, gives the doctor's name as "Keli," perhaps Kerree. Although there is no specific statement on the point, Shifu probably was treated in one of the Western hospitals in Shanghai. Jingqiu, one of those who wrote to commemorate Shifu in the 1927 issue of *Minzhong* (*People's Bell*), indicated that Shifu died in the Shanghai-Nanjing Railroad Hospital.

89. MS no. 23, 3, describes the two operations in some detail. The writer of this account, probably also Lin Junfu, noted that the wound from the first operation, for removal of an obstruction in the digestive tract, had not been closed. In the second operation the doctor had removed a double handful of dead material from Shifu's lungs.

90. MS no. 23, 12.

91. MS no. 23, 11.

92. The burial site is near Red Mist Cave (*Hongyan dong*), on one of the hills off to the southwest of the lake. Mo, HYSF, 62b, records the memorial couplet that Zheng Bi'an sent from New York: "The dreams built in our spirits at Jiangnan have ended, our hopes for Red Lichee Bay proved empty. As I recall the night we made our pledge beside the lake, I grieve over all that has passed on from that time at White Cloud Temple."

1. For these details see the memoirs of Shifu's brother Liu Shixin and Zheng Peigang, ZLX, vol. 2, 933, 949.
2. Zheng Peigang provides these further details, ZLX, 949. Other reprints at this time included Kropotkin's 'Appeal to the Young' and Errico Malatesta's 'A Talk about Anarchism between Two Workers.'
3. Liu Shixin memoir, 933. One of these newsletters, dated April 1, 1917, is reprinted in the new reprint edition of MS edited by Prof. Hazama Naoki.
4. Zheng Peigang memoir, ZLX, 949.
5. ZLX, 949-50.
6. ZLX, 950.
7. Liu Shixin memoir, ZLX, 934. Shixin's relationship with Liang remained close and continuous. Here he also mentions that Liang was prepared to arrange for Shixin to marry his younger sister, who also taught at the school. But Shixin observes that, at the time, he sought to learn from Shifu's experience with Ding Xiangtian and, believing that "no woman was dependable," he deferred.
8. Liang Bingxian's activity in Singapore suggests a much larger phenomenon that deserves further study. The overseas Chinese community in Southeast Asia had supported Sun Zhongshan's appeals for revolution. Some members of that community, such as Wen Shengcai (refer to chapter 5) were ordinary laborers prepared undertake assassination missions. By the mid-1910s, it appears that merchants as well as workers responded positively to Liang Bingxian's propaganda efforts.
9. Translation of Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread*, done largely by Liang Bingxian, appeared in three of the four issues published during the spring of 1915 (nos. 23, 24, and 26). 'The Philosophy of Anarchism,' probably an adaptation of Kropotkin's widely circulated 'Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal,' was the lead item in no. 27 (Feb. 1916). A synopsis of Kropotkin's pamphlet 'The Place of Anarchism in Socialist Evolution' was run in no. 29 (Nov. 1916), the last of these issues. Brief biographies of Tolstoy and Kotoku appeared in nos. 24 and 25, respectively.
10. For this statement, translated by "Yaorong," see MS no. 24, 3-5.
11. See 'Jinxing jian zhi Wuzhengfu Dang,' MS no. 28 (Sep. 10, 1916), 1-2. 'P.Y.' was among the first to identify himself only by English initials, a practice adopted by many anarchist writers during the 1920s.
12. For a survey of anarchism in Mexico, see John M. Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978). Anarchism had been introduced in Mexico during the second half of the nineteenth century, partly through the efforts of Plotino Rhodakanaty, child of a Greek father and Austrian mother, who as a young man became interested in anarchism, went to Paris to meet Proudhon, and then spent a quarter-century in Mexico. During this early period some Mexican anarchist groups had links with the Jura Federation and the International. The movement suffered under Porfirio Diaz, whose authoritarian rule weakened and then fell in May 1911. At this time Amadeo Ferres, a political exile from Spain, played an important role in reviving the anarchist movement. Several years of civil war followed, and when in late 1914 the forces of Francisco Villa and Emiliano Zapata converged on Mexico City, the moderate Constitutionalists appealed to the major anarchist organizations in and around the capital to mobilize an armed force in support of the Constitutionalists. Predominantly skilled workers, the anarchists regarded the Villa and Zapata forces, most of them peasants from the north, as unsophisticated and not prepared to

rule. The "Red Battalions" organized by the anarchists probably are the "anarchist army" referred to in P.Y.'s article in *Min sheng*.

Another part of the anarchist movement in Mexico during these troubled years focused on the Texas-Mexico border area. A recent study by James A. Sandos, *Rebellion in the Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), shows the effect of this movement in President Woodrow Wilson's decision to send American forces to Mexico in 1916. The influential leader of this movement, Ricardo Flores Magon, appealed to Mexicans living on both sides of the border with anarchist principles to build a significant following. Flores Magon knew Emma Goldman, who sought to assist him at various times through appeals in *Mother Earth*.

13. MS no. 28, 7-12. Episodes reported from Britain included a police raid on the anarchist journal *Freedom* and the jailing of "Comrade Chris Smith," a labor agitator who spoke out on government's handling of the coal strike of 1916. From the United States there was news of large-scale strikes. Some 76,000 coal miners were striking for an eight-hour day, a wage increase, and safety improvements. In San Francisco 70,000 garment workers went on strike, and in a related demonstration, 30,000 workers had protested military preparations. A "Socialist Workers Party" was credited with organizing this demonstration, but a group from the Anarchist Party also had participated, according to this account.

14. MS no. 28, 12. Nor was Shanghai the only focus of labor actions. In March 1916 (see 11), workers in the print shop of the Ministry of Finance in Beijing had gone on strike to improve their meager wages. Police had been sent from four district offices, including mounted police with loaded weapons. Ten workers had been arrested, and several of them had been beaten at police headquarters. But the workers had persisted, and they finally got their wage increase and went back to work.

This series of reports on labor activity concluded (12) with an account of violent disturbances in Ashenhe, a suburb of Harbin, in which farmers and their supporters had demanded reductions in rent and taxes. More than ten thousand people had converged on this small city, creating a volatile situation. The local magistrate had panicked at the unrest and agreed to the demonstrators' demands. While rural violence was not uncommon, this case seems unusually large in scale.

15. See "Shishi zuiyan," MS no. 28, 2.

16. MS no. 28, 3.

17. MS no. 28, 4.

18. For membership of the *Jinhua* group, see Chow Tse-tsung, *Research Guide to the May Fourth Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), no. 186.

19. Olga Lang mentions this commemorative issue in *Pa Chin and His Writings*.⁶³ Lang also notes that Ba Jin apparently modeled at least two characters in novels on Shifu. One was Chen Zhen in the trilogy *Love*. The other was Du Daxin in his first novel, *Destruction*. See Lang, 54, 181-82.

20. See QKJS, vol. 3, 227-30, for a discussion of this issue of *Jinhua*; quotations are from 228. This appears to be the first use of the term *Shifu zhuyi*.

21. QKJS, 230.

22. Again I am grateful to Diane Scherer for sharing materials with me; she provided a copy of this 1927 publication. While this issue of *Min Zhong* is a memorial to Shifu, it also clearly belongs to the episode in the history of the anarchist movement in which many were absorbed into the Guomindang. There are a number of references

to the fact that many who had been or still were anarchists had linked up with the Guomindang. This subject is discussed in chapter 10.

23. Biographical information on "Sanmu" is from ZLX, vol. 2, 700.
24. For Sanmu's comments, see *Min Zhong* vol. 2, no. 3 (March 25, 1927). Sanmu noted that all of his comrades who came and went to Southeast Asia, all said that workers' and students' groups all owed their beginnings to Shifu, directly or indirectly.
25. For Sanmu's comment see *Min Zhong*, 168.
26. Quotation from *Min Zhong*, 177. Li Deshan probably was among the younger members of the anarchist movement as of the late 1920s.
27. *Min Zhong*, 199. Bi's contribution is also reprinted in ZLX, vol. 2, 724-29. This and several other of these eulogies make use of parts of Shifu's final statement about himself and the teachings of anarchism being buried in the yellow earth of China. Here, I have translated *zang*, "to bury," as "to plant," because of the context.
28. For these early materials in Mao's career, see *Mao Zedong zaqiqi wengao* (Documents from Mao Zedong's Early Period), Xu Rihui, ed. (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1990). Mao wrote this article, "The establishment and development of the Able Study Society" for the *Xiang River Review* (*Xiangjiang Pinglun*), August 21, 1919; the quotation is from 364. These materials are also available in *Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings*, Stuart Schram, ed. (Armonk, N. Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1992), where one may check the thorough index for this reference to Shifu.
29. For "Minzhong de da bianhe," see *Mao Zedong zaqiqi wengao*, 339-42, 373-78, 389-95. This three-part essay was published in the *Xiang River Review*, July 21, 28, and August 4, 1919.
30. Return to chapter 6 for the terminology used as of 1912-13, when "narrow" identified anarchism and meant that extreme or thorough socialist principles should be applied in society. "Broad" was associated with the use of some socialist principles by government in state socialism.
31. For another discussion of this essay and a full translation of the portion summarized here, see Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 232-33.
32. For discussions of the question of ongoing anarchist influences on Mao in later years, see Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 232-37, and Dirlit, *Anarchism*, 294-97.
33. This view of Chen's role comes from Lee Feigon, *Chen Duxiu*. For Chen's activity during the New Culture and May Fourth years, see ch. 4.
34. Many have concluded that indeed this has been the fate of the women's issue over the decades of this century, that it became subsumed in "broader social revolution" to the point that progress specifically for women has not been addressed with sufficient system or thoroughness. Thus, especially in the years since 1949, some women have held positions at the highest levels of government, and women have been represented in lower ranks of leadership as well, but this has not often produced specific changes that would benefit women generally. Labor as a political bloc has experienced the same treatment in contemporary China.
35. "Observations on Women" was the work of a French writer, Paul Blouet, writing under the pen name Max O'Rell. The seven heroines Chen described briefly in no. 3 included Florence Nightingale, Sophie Perovskaya, Joanne of Arc, Marie Curie, Clemence Royer (1803-1902, a Swiss scholar), Louise Michel, and Marie Rolland. See Price, *Russia and the Chinese Revolution*, 122-25, for a discussion of the 1903 novel *Heroines of Eastern Europe* (*Dong'ou nuhaojie*).

36. "Jiehun yu han'ai," XQN 3.5 (July 1917).

37. The special issue on Ibsen was 4.6 (June 1918).

38. See Kwok's *Scientism in Chinese Thought, 1900-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), Part I.

39. See "Qingnian yu gongju" and "Zai lun gongju" XQN 2.2 and 2.3 (Oct. and Nov. 1916), respectively. These essays are discussed in Kwok, *Scientism*, 38-41.

40. "Jiqi cujin datong shuo," XQN 5.2 (Aug. 1918).

41. He wrote on this same theme again in 1933 in *New China (Xin Zhonghua)*, a widely read journal of that time. Ever the wit, Wu wrote in the literary style on this modern topic and added a piece of calligraphy in the ancient seal style for the magazine's frontispiece. See Kwok, *Scientism*, 40-41.

42. Wu's first position in the Republican government had been as head of a committee on language reform; it was this service for which Shifu criticized Wu. During these years Wu remained involved in the effort to develop a syllabary as a means to broaden literacy. Qian Xuantong, who espoused anarchist principles on a number of issues, also wrote regularly on these issues in *New Youth*.

43. "How Can We Resolve [Problems in] the Writing System in China?" (Buzhou Zhongguo wenzi zhi fangfa ruohe?), XQN 5.5 (Nov. 15, 1918).

44. For examples, see Huang's "The Issue of a World Language" (Shijieyu wenti) and "Esperanto and Contemporary Thinking" (Esperanto yu xiandai sichao), XQN 6.2 (Feb. 15, 1919), and Ou's "Chinese Writing and Esperanto" (Zhongguo wenzi yu Esperanto), XQN 6.1 (Jan. 15, 1919).

45. This is one of Ou's points in his comments in XQN 6.1 cited above.

46. Hu Shi sought to implement his own suggestions for writing in *baihua*, writing both poetry and drama that appeared in *New Youth*. See "Eight Colloquial Poems" (Baihua shi ba shou), 2.6 (Feb. 1, 1917), and "Life's Greatest Event [Marriage]" (Zhongsheng dashi), 6.3 (March 15, 1919).

47. See Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 211.

48. Quoted in QKJS, vol. 3, 220, from Taimou's "Reply to Sengjun." *Shi she Zizou lu*, no. 1.

49. For further observations on the anarchists' internationalism and the concept of an international people's revolution, see Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 173-80, and Dirlik, "Ideology and Organization in the May Fourth Movement: Some Problems in the Intellectual Historiography of the May Fourth Period," *Republican China*, Nov. 1986, esp. 11-12. The politically correct judgment of a later generation on the anarchists' internationalism appears in QKJS, vol. 3, 217-18, where the commentator on *Shi she Zizou lu* praises anarchists' internationalism but then blames them for being insufficiently patriotic.

50. The compilers of QKJS identify Wu Zihui as chief editor of *Laodong* and suggest that the journal was largely his creation; see vol. 2, 167. They do identify Huang Lingshuang and Hua Lin as contributors; these two worked on many anarchist periodicals throughout these years until the early 1920s. Wu Zihui contributed at least one item to each of the journal's five issues (March-July 1918); Li Shizeng and Cai Yuanpei also contributed to *Laodong*, and Chen Duxiu provided an article for the opening issue. QKJS, 679-81, shows the journal's contents.

Shifu's comrades present the journal as being primarily their effort, with the other senior anarchists contributing. In his memoir, Liu Shixin says that Liang Bingxian was

chief editor and that Zheng Peigang did the printing (probably on the group's press, now returned to action); see ZLX, 934. The list of anarchist periodicals appended to ZLX associates *Laodong* with Liang and Liu Shixin, and not with Wu Zihui; ZLX, 1074.

51. For a fuller discussion of *Laodong*'s response to the Russian Revolution, see Dirlit, *Anarchism*, 177-79.

52. Quoted from "An Analysis of Lenin" (Lining zhi jiebu), *Laodong* no. 3 (May 20, 1918), in QKJS, vol. 2, 174. The writer of this article, ("Worker," *Laoren*), relied heavily on a discussion by a Westerner named Holland, who surely was an anarchist.

53. "The Self-consciousness of Workers" (Laodongzhe zhi zижье), no. 4 (June 20, 1918), quoted in QKJS 2, 176-77.

54. Wu Zihui personally tried to resolve the most serious crisis in the program to study in France. This developed in the summer of 1921, when too many students had been allowed to go to France without adequate planning, financing, or housing, as the joint Sino-French Institute was being established at the University of Lyons. Wu was ultimately ineffectual. One result of this episode was to alienate students from the anarchist principles on which the program was supposed to have been set up. See Marilyn A. Levine, *The Found Generation: Chinese Communists in Europe during the Twenties* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), 121-34.

55. For discussion of some of these projects, including some of the difficulties encountered in them, see Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment*, 86-93, 128-133.

56. For Chen's thinking and activity as he entered this period, see Dirlit, *Origins of Chinese Communism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), ch. 9, esp. 195-97.

57. Chen made this the last point in his "Appeal to Youth" (Jinggao qingnian) in the initial issue of *Youth*. Chen also addressed superstition in "Again on the Issue of a Confucian Religion" (Zai lun Kongjiao wenti), XQN 2.5 (Jan. 1917). Another such direct attack was made in Chen's "On Breaking Idols" (Ouxiang pohuai jun) in 5.2 (Aug. 1918). The antisuperstition theme was expressed explicitly or implicitly in many other essays in the journal.

58. See "What Is the New Culture Movement?" (Xin wenhua yundong shi shenme?), XQN 7.5.

59. Cai's "Replace Religion with a Sense of Beauty" (Yi meiyu dai zongjiao shao) appeared in XQN 3.6.

60. Chen, "Xin wenhua yundong shi shenme?", XQN 7.5.

61. On several such comments made during the early 1920s, Chen could easily have been reflecting his own experience in his relationship with his sons, both of whom were anarchists at this time and both of whom resented Chen's treatment of his wife, their mother. This personal aspect is further probed in the following chapter; also see Feigon, *Chen Duxiu*, 51-53.

62. XQN 7.5.

63. For indications of Chen's respect for Wu Zihui, Li Shizeng, and Zhang Ji at a point much earlier in the New Culture period, see Dirlit, *Anarchism*, 161. Certainly dialogue among these individuals continued during the intervening years as well. By the middle 1920s, however, some of these relationships turned to enmity, most notably that between Chen and Wu, as described in chapter 10.

64. As discussed just below, Shifu did not include democracy as a feature of the good society he envisioned. The other major theme in the New Culture that Shifu did not

emphasize—as already noted—was the new literature that emerged out of the intellectual ferment of the late 1910s.

65. Shifu would have changed the *de* as transliteration for the first syllable of *democracy* to its traditional Chinese meaning of *virtue*.

Chapter 10

1. See the remark attributed to Chen in Dirlit, *Anarchism*, 153.

2. Chen had previously controlled the southwestern Fujian city of Zhangzhou, which he made a major center of socialist activity.

3. For a stimulating and unconventional view of this break between Sun and Chen Jiongming, see Leslie H. Chen, "Chen Jiongming (1878-1933) and the Chinese Federalist Movement," *Republican China*, Nov. 1991, 21-37. The author, Chen Jiongming's son, is engaged in research on his father's career.

4. An important source on labor organization in Guangzhou is Ming K. Chan, "Labor and Empire: The Chinese Labor Movement in the Canton Delta, 1895-1927" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1975); ch. 1 provides an historical overview. The Teahouse Union amalgamated some 11,000 food service workers from forty previously existing guilds.

5. Chan, "Labor and Empire," 44.

6. Chan, "Labor and Empire," 49. Chan notes the influence of the strike by the Hong Kong Seamen's Union against their British employers in stimulating organization. Approximately one hundred other strikes occurred throughout China during 1922, many of them against foreign-owned enterprises.

7. Chan, "Labor and Empire," 50.

8. Chan, "Labor and Empire," 61-62.

9. Chan, "Labor and Empire," 76-79. Compare Harold Isaacs, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* (New York: Atheneum, 1966), 291.

10. On Shanghai see Elizabeth J. Perry's *Shanghai on Strike*. Gail Hershatter, *The Workers of Tianjin, 1900-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986) explains the characteristics that inhibited strikes in Tianjin without limiting the growth of workers as an occasionally powerful force for nationalistic and revolutionary causes. David Strand's *Rickshaw Beijing* describes still another setting for labor activity; see esp. chs. 7 and 10.

11. Quotation from Perry, *Shanghai on Strike*, 5.

12. No study of anarchism should fail to mention this episode even though it seems an isolated case. Huang Ai and Pang Renquan had studied anarchism and become devoted followers, one of them while a student in Tianjin. Thus, although this activity in Hunan was not as isolated as it seems, it suggests how deeply anarchist ideas had penetrated among at least a few people in so many parts of China. On this episode see Li Jui, *The Early Revolutionary Activity of Comrade Mao Tse-tung* (White Plains, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1977), 192-99.

13. Jing hailed from the southwest Shanxi city of Yuncheng. He probably was among the earliest Chinese anarchists, first learning about anarchism as a student in Japan in 1902-03. Parts of his memoir of that period, *Zui An* (A Criminal Case) are reprinted in ZLX, vol. 2. Jing served as editor of *Xue Hui* (Sea of Learning), a supplement to the Beijing newspaper *Gaofeng Ribao* (National Customs Daily), the

supplement an important anarchist publication during 1922 and 1923 (See Chow Tse-tsung, RG, item 600, and ZLX, pp. 1078-79). For a recent biography, see Jing Kening and Zhao Zhanqiu, *Jing Meijiu pingzuan* (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1990).

14. Chow, RG, item 600; also see the appendix of anarchist publications in WZZG, 565-85, where many of these references in *Xue hui* are included.

Lu Jianbo, another Sichuan anarchist, grew up near Luzhou; he joined anarchist groups in Chongqing and like Ba Jin, later worked for the movement in Shanghai and Nanjing. A memoir on Lu is included in ZLX, 1009-22.

15. See *Jinhua*, no. 3, 23.

16. *Jinhua*, no. 3, 23.

17. This "French front" is the subject of Marilyn Levine's excellent study *The Found Generation: Chinese Communists in Europe during the Twenties* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993). In the discussion below this activity in France is mentioned only in passing; however, I do not mean to suggest that it was not important.

18. On the lack of success in Guangzhou, see Hans Van de Ven, *From Friend to Comrade: The Founding of the Chinese Communist Party, 1920-1927* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 64-65; Feigon notes the time of Chen's return to Shanghai, *Chen Duxiu*, 168.

19. Liang and Ou are indicated as editors in the appendix to ZLX, 1072. This revived form of *Min Sheng* published five issues, nos. 30-34, from March through August 1921. The 1967 reprint edition of *Min Sheng* by Longmen Bookstore of Hong Kong concludes with no. 33. The more recent reprint edited by the Japanese scholar Hazama Naoki of Kyoto University (Kyoto, Friendship Books, 1992) includes no. 34 and one of the newsletters published during the extended break in publication between 1916 and 1921. ZLX, 590-91, has one item reprinted from no. 34.

20. Data on the original lecture from *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan* (Selected Works of Chen Duxiu) (3 vols., Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1993), vol. 2, 241. The revised version of the talk appeared in *Xin Qingnian*, 9.3 (July 1921). On leadership of *Guangzhou Qunbao*, see Dirlak, *Origins*, 170. The supplement to *Min Sheng* no. 30 is dated April 5; it contains only Ou's responses to Chen's statements, some of which Ou quoted. *Xin Qingnian* published the statements of both disputants in 9.4 (August 1921).

Hoping to reopen the debate, Ou prepared another statement, which appeared in *Xue Deng* (Light of Learning), an anarchist-inclined supplement to the Shanghai *China Times* (*Shishi Xinhao*), in April 1922. Ou sent this last rejoinder from Lyons, where he had gone on the work-study program. On *Xue Deng*, see Chow, *Research Guide*, item 603. This supplement to the debate, entitled "Da Chen Duxiu Xiansheng de yiwen" (Responding to Chen Duxiu's Doubts), is reprinted in WZZG, 425-45.

Portions of the discussion that follows in the text are drawn from Krebs, "The Chinese Anarchist Critique of Bolshevism during the 1920s" in *Roads Not Taken: The Struggle of Opposition Parties in Twentieth-Century China*, ed. Roger B. Jeans (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1992), 211-12. For other discussions of this debate, see Dirlak, *Anarchism*, 214-19; Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 228-29, and Krebs, "Liu Ssu-fu," 419-23.

21. Both Chen's and Ou's statements are reprinted in *Chen Duxiu shixun ji* (Collected Correspondence of Chen Duxiu) (Beijing: Xinhua, 1987), 330-68. Chen's comment here appears on p. 349.

22. For comments on the concern over syndicalism, see Diane Scherer, "Organizing Anarchy in Canton: The Chinese Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement," a paper presented at the 1990 Association for Asian Studies meeting, 19-20 and 22-23.

23. In reminiscences recorded in the 1960s, several of the anarchists recalled a meeting in the spring of 1921 in which the issue of discipline was made specific, and they rejected "the dictatorship of the proletariat." WZZG, 509, 521, 526. Dirlak shows that the Marxists were seeking to ensure organizational loyalty at this time. Willingness to accept "the dictatorship of the proletariat" was more important as an organizational principle than as a theoretical point. Dirlak, *Origins*, ch. 9.

24. See XQN 9.1 (May 1921).

25. *Juewu* was an anarchist-inclined supplement to *Republican Daily* (*Minguo Ribao*). Chen Duxiu's comment identifies the writer only as "Taipu," who is identified as Zheng Taipu in an editor's note, ZLX, 500.

26. Compare Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 226; there were also those who claimed that they regularly made the rounds of Shanghai's brothels with Wu Zihui. Chen lists a number of specific incidents that had given anarchism a bad name.

At least earlier in his career, Chen had been enthusiastically libertine in sexual behavior; see Feigon, *Chen Duxiu*, 51-54. For Chen himself, the major consequence of this aspect of his life was not so much sexual license itself as the conflict that developed between his formal and informal marriages to Gao Xiaoman and Gao Junman, who were sisters. This situation apparently underlay Chen's problems in his relationships with Yannian and Qiaonian, the two sons of his formal marriage. Some would say that these aspects of individual behavior should not be given much consideration in an inquiry into the lives and thinking of important individuals. However, the lives of women were powerfully affected by this behavior of men who claimed to support sexual equality; while most such men recognized these conflicts in their behavior, they seem to have found it difficult to change their habits. (No one ever said that cultural revolution would be easy.)

27. Most non-Chinese students who undertake the study of anarchism in China consider whether there was a link with Daoism, which seems the most likely source in traditional Chinese thought for anarchism as a modern system of social and political thought. Shifu vigorously denied any such connection, to either Daoism or Buddhism. For Chen Duxiu the connection was clear.

28. Chen also succeeded in reorienting the term nihilism from a positive connotation for activists as of 1903-7, when it suggested a dedication to revolutionary activism, especially in assassination and other dangerous work. Chen now associated nihilism with a self-centered bohemianism and even criminal behavior.

29. For these arguments, see "Gao feinan-wuzhengfu zhuyizhe" (Response to the Critics of Anarchism) and "Wuzhengfu gongchan pai yu jichan pai zhi qidian" (The Differences between Anarchist Communism and the Collectivists), both in MS no. 30 (March 1921), and "'Jieji zhanzheng' he 'pingmin zhuanzheng' quo shiyong yu shehui geming ma?" (Are 'Class Warfare' and 'People's Dictatorship' Appropriate in Social Revolution?), no. 33 (July 1921).

30. MS no. 33, "'Jieji zhanzheng' . . . " 5.

31. See MS no. 33, 10. This report gives the number as "several tens."

32. MS no. 33, 10. The number appears to mean the combined total of the two items. Another of the items distributed at the meeting was a handbill written by Zhu Zhixin. At this time Zhu was in Zhangzhou; he died in September 1920.

33. This memorial gathering is the only item in the two-page English section included with MS no. 31 (April 15, 1921). Here also, several thousand pamphlets and picture postcards had been distributed.

Number 32 (English section) reports on a commemorative gathering on March 27 (also 1921), the anniversary of Shifu's death, which drew "about forty comrades." The gathering was held at a monastery on White Cloud Mountain north of Guangzhou. It appears that the gathering was intended to be semi-private; the much larger turnout for the Kropotkin memorial represents an effort to draw as many people as possible.

34. The student's name was Li Guangyu. *Min sheng* reprinted portions of accounts from an American newspaper in Shanghai, *The Continental (Dalu bao)* and from the local Shanghai *News (Lu bao)*, MS, no. 33, 12-13. For another reference to this incident see the memoir on Lu Jianbo by Jiang Jun, one of the editors of ZLX, 1012, where it is reported that Li Guangyu died in prison after a short time.

35. The estimate of the crowd's size is from MS no. 32 (May 15, 1921), English section. (Here the author must correct a gross error in somehow putting this figure at 200,000 in another publication on this subject.) In Beijing, a celebration at the Higher Normal College had gone smoothly, but at Beida a fire suddenly broke out in the hall where the May Day celebration had been scheduled to take place! This report also noted that there were thirty-two labor unions in Guangzhou, twenty-six in Xiamen, and over one hundred in Hong Kong. Zheng Peigang recalled the portraits of the two socialist leaders, "Reminiscences," WZZG, 521. The celebration in Chongqing is mentioned in the Lu Jianbo memoir, ZLX, 1011.

36. For a survey of the first GMD-CCP alliance see Lyman P. Van Slyke, *Enemies and Friends: The United Front in Chinese Communist History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), chs. 1 and 2.

37. The May 30 incident stimulated a surge in CCP membership, from about 1,000 as 1925 began to 30,000 after that major episode. However, the Party had mobilized hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants in its related organizations by that time. See Van Slyke, *Enemies and Friends*, 22-23.

38. Quoted in Clifford, "The Intellectual Development of Wu Zihui," 291. Wu made this statement in a letter to Jiang Kanghu on which he discussed the role of political parties.

39. Wu duplicated Hua Lin's letter in beginning his reply. See *Wu Zihui shixian xuan* (Selected correspondence of Wu Zihui) (Taipei: Zhuanji wexue chubanshe, 1970), vol. 2, 249-58.

40. Wu's categorization of basic political positions might be a response to Chen Duxiu's comments in "Tan zhengzhi" (On Government), XQN 8.1 (September 1, 1920), section 3.

41. This was one of the times when Wu stated that "burned to ash, I am a Guomindang party member, and at the same time one who believes in anarchism."

42. Translation from Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 186-87, from a longer portion of the first part Wu's response to Hua Lin.

43. *Wu Zihui shixian xuan*, vol. 2, 256.

44. See "Tiewu" (Shen Zhongjiu), "Wuzhengfu zhuyi yu Guomindang" (Anarchism and the Guomindang), and "Aixin" (also Shen Zhongjiu), "Wuzhengfu zhuyizhe keyi jiaru Guomindang?" (May Anarchists Join the Guomindang?), both from *Ziyou Ren*, July 1924; reprinted in ZLX, 762-89. For another discussion of Shen's views, see Dirlit, *Anarchism*, 253-55.

45. ZLX, 776.

46. Wu's addressee is identified only as "Junyi"; Shen referred to this letter several times, e.g., ZLX, 777, 780. Wu Kegang is identified as "Junyi" in ZLX, 849.

47. ZLX, 779.

48. Shen chided Wu for "driving the car backward and not taking the road toward progress," a reference to Wu's 1918 essay, which had used motors as the symbol of progress based on science and technology.

49. ZLX, 787-88.

50. Shen made several references to Shifu; see ZLX, 775, 780, 781, 788. Junyi's essay is mentioned on 787.

51. A number of leaders began to address the need for organization at this time. Van de Ven, *From Friend to Comrade*, ch. 1, provides a good survey of this concern and its effect on a number of individuals at the time, including Chen and Mao Zedong.

52. For Chow's note, see *Research Guide*, item 519. Chow and WZZG, 576, say *Huzhu Yuekan* was published in Beijing. However, ZLX, 1080, says the journal was published in Shanghai; this is confirmed in Zheng Peigang's reminiscences (ZLX, 966). There is always the possibility that the editors used a false place of publication to confuse the authorities. ZLX, 971, identifies "Ke Lao" as Zheng Peigang. "Wuren ershinian lai zhi chuanbopin" is reprinted in WZZG, 456-61, and constitutes a useful record (although not complete) of anarchist publications.

53. WZZG, 455; this article also appears in ZLX, 679-81. Zhang Guotao's memoir offers information that sheds somewhat more light on this issue. In a meeting of the CCP leadership soon after the party's founding, there was a discussion about allowances for Party workers. Zhang and Chen had disagreed on the question, the latter favoring no financial support for staff. Zhang accused Chen of being "not free from the influence of anarchism." The argument had impressed the two men's colleagues and led Maring to urge Zhang to try to replace Chen as party secretary. A few days later, Chen, his wife (presumably Gao Junman), and several of the party leaders had been jailed following a raid of Chen's home by the French Concession police. Although all were released within a few days, this episode had pulled everybody together. One of the immediate effects was to decide in favor of a "living allowance" for Party workers, which was to be a maximum of "twenty-five dollars" per month; the maximum had been reduced from a possible thirty-five dollars decided earlier, but was reduced so as not to exceed a poor worker's income. Chang Kuo-t'ao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party: the Autobiography of Chang Kuo-t'ao* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1971-72), vol. 1, 162-68.

54. For publication data on *Xue Hui*, see n. 13 of this chapter. As *Xue Hui* was a supplement to the Beijing *Guofeng Ribao*, W's letter was widely circulated and presumably reflected problems of general concern to anarchists. The letter is reprinted in WZZG, 478-80.

Parts of the discussion that follows in the text, on the anarchists' problems during the mid-1920s, are drawn from Krebs, "Anarchist Critique of Bolshevism," 215-17.

55. WZZG, 481. Chen Muqin, also known as "Xiaowo" (Small Ego), organized several anarchist groups and journals in Chongqing and Chengdu beginning in 1920 (ZLX, 1010). Kuli identified Chen's article as "Annaqi geming zhi taolun" (A Discussion of the Anarchist Revolution), but did not indicate where it had been published.

56. *Minzhong* began publishing in Shanghai in 1925. Several of those active on this journal moved back and forth between Guangzhou and Shanghai fairly often during this period, and this proposal suggests a plan to divide the talent and produce the two journals.

57. "Zhongguo wuzhengfu tuan gangling can'an," in WZZG, 483-88.

58. WZZG, 487.

59. Quoted in Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 201-2, from Wu's *Collected Works*. This record suggests that this exchange occurred sometime in 1926. Zhang Guotao describes a similar conversation between Wu and Chen, but places it in spring 1924 (see Zhang's memoirs, vol. I, 345-46). Clearly there was such an exchange, which Wu took in utter seriousness. Upon seeing the importance Wu had attached to his statement, Chen insisted he did not mean that the success of communism would bring the end of the GMD.

60. It is possible that Wu Zihui might have been able to intercede on behalf of Chen Yannian. There are several versions of events that followed Chen Yannian's imprisonment in Shanghai after the events of April 12. Most negative regarding Wu is that he refused to harbor the younger Chen in his home (Feigon, *Chen Duxiu*, 231, n. 2). Kindest to Wu is that he went so far as to go to the prison looking for Chen Yannian, but did not see him, or was simply unable to recognize him (Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 301, n. 44).

Although Chen Duxiu's sons had dropped their association with anarchism and become communists, differences between father and son did not end but instead added a political dimension. Chen Yannian clearly enjoyed the respect of his comrades and was made a member of the Guangdong regional executive committee of the CCP. He was among the first to begin to complain that Chen Duxiu's leadership of the party was overly personalistic, and by spring 1926 called his father a "patriarch" in the party. For the unfolding of these intra-Party struggles refer to Van de Ven, *From Friend to Comrade*, ch. 5; on these personal aspects note 207, 232.

61. Ren Jianshu, *Chen Duxiu zhuan* (Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), vol. 1, 33, puts Chen Qiaonian's execution in February 1928.

62. Chen resigned as party chairman in June 1927; in August a special party conference condemned Chen's "opportunistic" policies and formally removed him from his positions in the party. Again refer to Van de Ven, *From Friend to Comrade*, 229-34; the key point in Van de Ven's study is that the CCP matured, during the 1920s, in evolving from personality-centered study society cells to a centralized organization that focused on developing a party line to which its members would adhere regardless of personal attachments. The "opportunism" of which Chen Duxiu was accused actually meant his continued emphasis on a personal style in leadership; Chen had not kept pace with this larger change.

Also see Feigon's comments, *Chen Duxiu*, 119-21, 193-95, suggesting that Chen made major contributions to the development of attitudes and practices that eventually made him a victim of the organization he had done so much to create.

63. See Gregor Benton, *China's Urban Revolutionaries: Explorations in the History of Chinese Trotskyism, 1921-1952* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1996).

esp. ch. 12, "Chinese Trotskyism and the World of Letters." Revival of interest in the Trotskyist movement is another feature of the growing willingness to reconsider issues in recent history that has characterized the period since 1979. For Feigon's assessment of the Trotskyists see *Chen Duxiu*, ch. 7, esp. 216-20.

64. Gao Xiaolan, the mother of Yannian and Qiaonian, died in 1930. Gao Junman, her younger sister with whom Chen had a continuing married relationship probably until 1925, died in 1937. Gao Junman took their son and daughter to Nanjing to live (again, probably in 1925), then returned to Anqing after her elder sister died. In 1931 Chen Duxiu married a young woman who worked in the British-American Tobacco Factory at Shanghai. She was twenty-nine years younger than Chen; her name was Pan Lanzen, from a poor peasant family of Nantong, Jiangsu. She cared for Chen during his years in prison from 1932 to 1937 and in the last years before his death in 1942. For these details see Ren, *Chen Duxiu zhuan*, vol. 1, 33-34.

Benton, *China's Urban Revolutionaries*, 121-22, notes that the sometimes stormy relationships between Chen and his sons Yannian and Qiaonian will be permanently put to rest, their remains moved to the "garden tomb" in Anqing where Chen Duxiu's remains were moved in 1982. Chen died in 1942 at Jiangjin, Sichuan, slightly upriver on the Changjiang from Chongqing, and was buried there.

65. "Jinian Shifu Xiansheng," *Min Zhong* 2.3 (March 1927).

Chapter 11

1. Metzger has addressed the importance of "system" as a comprehensive presentation of principles in Chinese political thought and popular appeal in his "Oppositional Politics and the Problem of Secularization in Modern China" presented at the Conference on Oppositional Politics in Twentieth-Century China at Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, September 1990. Also see Roger B. Jeans' introductory essay in *Roads Not Taken*, 21-22.

2. For this practice, which seems an early form of the political study sessions that have been an institution in the People's Republic, see T'ung-tsu Ch'u, *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 162-63 and 309-10 n. 161. According to Ch'u, this practice was launched by Ming Taizu and reinstated in early Qing times by the Kangxi emperor.

3. For comments on the power of language, and the relationship between language and power, in contemporary China, refer again to Perry Link, *Evening Chats in Beijing*, 8-10 and ch. 4.

4. Both Hans Van de Ven and Michael Y. L. Luk have emphasized the role of a newly developed Marxist terminology in their studies of the CCP's development during the 1920s. At that early point this effort reflected first the reconceptualization of Chinese society, analysis of classes and relationships between/among classes, and the party as agent of change, through the introduction of Marx's and Lenin's works and debates both within the party and in the broader intellectual realm. See the concluding chapters of Van de Ven's *From Friend to Comrade* and Luk's *The Origins of Chinese Bolshevism: An Ideology in the Making, 1920-1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

5. Here again I must insert a disclaimer, this time to acknowledge the role of popular religious movements in Chinese history, any number of which did indeed

mobilize legions of ordinary people to oppose injustices, many of which were direct or indirect results of weak or arbitrary government.

6. However, slightly varied forms of the *ti-yong* issue have re-emerged, as in the debate on 'Eastern vs. Western civilization' during the 1920s.

7. For example, see ZLX, 236, where in his early antifamily essay Shifu likened the treatment of all children as one's own to 'the beginnings of *datong* society.'

8. See Dirlit, *Origins*, ch. 6. Also see the lists of materials available in the early 1920s in Van de Ven, *From Friend to Comrade*, 81-84 (which also suggest the continuing influence of anarchism).

9. Again *New Youth* was a major source of such material, and presumably some of the reports that appeared there were circulated by other Communist journals. Beginning in September 1920 (8.1), *New Youth* ran a section entitled 'Studies of Russia' (*Olusī yanjiu*), which provided translations of reports from many Western journals. A number of these reports were translated by Yuan Zhenying, an anarchist, whom Chen Duxiu had invited to edit this feature (see Dirlit, *Anarchism*, 179).

10. Probably we should count it to Zhang's credit that, like Lu Xun, he never succumbed to any ideology; this characteristic helps to explain his continuing appeal to thinking Chinese.

11. Zarrow, *Anarchism*, 35-36 and n. 10, 269-70, details Liu's feelings at the point when he broke with the revolutionary movement. Liu was frustrated with his comrades in the movement for failing to live up to their principles. This does not necessarily mean that he rationalized that anarchism would have its best chance to function if the ruler could be induced to sponsor it.

12. This is a basic point in Dirlit's discussion of the Paris group in 1927; see *Anarchism*, ch. 7, esp. 270-80.

13. Wang Jingwei also deserves attention at this point. Wang's early association with the anarchist movement surely affected his later career. Wang cast his lot with Sun Zhongshan, and after Sun's death became the central figure in the 'Guomindang left.' Although Wang is generally presented as a weak figure, he did resist the GMD's militarist right wing at the time when Wu Zihui and the other anarchists joined it. Wang is also seen as an egotist who longed for recognition if not for power; obviously this too helps to explain his holdout against Jiang Jieshi. Even so, Wang appears at least as admirable and more devoted to principles than the senior anarchists. Wang's continuing opposition to Jiang and his policies, and undoubtedly his oft-thwarted ambition for leadership, led to his decision to front the Japanese occupation government in 1938. It is at this point that Wang's earlier anarchism would seem to be a factor in his behavior. Wang had believed in peaceful social revolution, and he had been prepared to sacrifice himself in the assassination attempt in Beijing in 1910. Was his execution in 1945 punishment as much for his longstanding opposition to Jiang as for his cooperation with Japan? In heading the Japanese 'puppet government,' perhaps Wang hoped that he might at least save the lives of thousands of his fellow Chinese. He might even have hoped that, once the Japanese were defeated, his administration would have laid the foundation of a genuinely civil government for China. Was he more faithful to his earlier principles than many other old anarchists? Again, there were no good options for any of them.

14. Liu Shixin memoir, ZLX, 934.

15. This outline of Huang's career is based on the biographical sketch by Xie Kang appended to the two-volume collection of Huang's essays, *Dangdai wenhua luncong* (Essays on Contemporary Culture) (Hong Kong: Zhuhai College, 1971), 1107-26.

16. If work in education is seen as a positive part of the legacy of the anarchist movement, it also may be seen as a diversion from the protests that the anarchist bloc within the Guomindang might have been making against the growing corruption and intemperate leadership of the party.

17. See the conclusion to my Ph.D. dissertation.

18. Shifu's behavior in his relationship with Ding seems a precedent for the family-breaking devotion to principles that occurred in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

19. My efforts have not been carried into the 1930s, so it is not appropriate to comment on that period; probably there was more activity by anarchists than we have previously realized. I understand that Wan Shuping of Duke University, under the direction of Arif Dirlik, is at work on a dissertation concerning Chinese anarchism in the 1930s. Both Dirlik and Peter Zarrow have written with great insight on other themes regarding the ongoing importance of anarchism in China; refer to the concluding chapters of both.

Glossary of Selected Items

Terms and phrases:

ansha zhuyi 暗杀主义

bi an 披岸

bocaizhe 不才者

budongchan 不动产

caizhe 才者

chuanbo shidai 传播时代

chuncui shehui zhuyi dang 纯粹社会主义党

da nao Jinshan 大闹金山

da wo 大我

dacheng 大乘

danshui shehui zhuyi 单税社会主义

danwei 单位

daode zhi buliang 道德之不良

datong 大同

dongchan 动产

duiyiwoer zhi gansi zhuyi 独一无二之敢死主义

feidang 非党

ge jin suo neng, 各尽所能

ge qu suo xu 各取所需

ge qu suo zhi 各 取所值

gongchan zhuyi 共产主义
 guangyi 广义
 guilian 贵廉
 guocai/kekusuji 国粹
 Han xue 汉学
 hua si wei gong 化私为公
 huzhu zhi dadao 互助之大道
 jichan zhuyi 集产主义
 jiduan po huai zhuyi 极端破坏主义
 jie 界
 jixian 界限
 jing 经
 jinqian 金钱
 junchan zhuyi 均产主义
 kaozheng 考证
 ku xing 苦行
 lunli xue 伦理学
 pingmin geming 平民革命
 qiangquan 强权
 renge 人格
 sangang geming 三纲革命
 sanwu zhuyi 三无主义
 sejie 色界
 shehui fengong 社会分工
 shehui minzhu zhuyi 社会民主主义
 shehui zhengce 社会政策
 sheyou 社友
 Shufu zhuyi 复复主义
 shoujia 手假
 tixi 体系
 ti-yong 体用
 wanquan zhengdang 完全政党
 wei 纤

weiren 伟人
wenxue geming 文学革命
wuli 武力
wu wo 无我
wushen lun 无神论
wuxian dian 无线电
xia (knight) 侠
xiadeng shehui 下等社会
xiao wo 小我
xiaoxue 小学
xiayi 狹义
xin shehui zhi renwu 新社会之人物
xungu xue 训诂学
xuwu sixiang ji fangren zhuyi 虚无思想及放任主义
xuwu zhuyi 虚无主义
youzhengfu zhuyi 有政府主义
youzhizhe 有志者
zhengke 政客
zhengzhi gemingjia 政治革命家
zhengzhi shehui 政治社会
zhenli 真理
zhenzheng zhi shihui zhuyi 真正之社会主义
zhunin zhengce zhi langdu 殖民政策之狼毒
zhishi (man of determination) 志士
zhishi (knowledge) 知识
zhongxing 中兴
Zhongxue wei ti, Xixue wei yong 中学为体，西学为用
zhuzi 诸子
zi wo 自我
zishi xue 字式学
zuxing 族姓

Names of people:

"An" 安

Ba Jin 巴金

Bakuning 巴枯宁

Bazhi 八指

Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培

Chen Bijun 陈璧君

Chen Duxiu 陈独秀

Chen Jinghua 陈景华

Chen Jiongming 陈炯明

Chen Yilong 陈翼龙

Chen Zijue 陈自觉

Ding Xiangtian 丁湘田

Fengshan 凤山

Fukui Junzo 福井准造

Fuqi 孚琦

Gao Jianfu 高剑父

Gessho 月照

He Zhen 何震

He Zhongda 何仲达

Hong Xian 红线

Huang Fusheng 黄复生

Huang Juansheng/Zunsheng 黄润生/尊生

Huang Lingshuang/Wenshan 黄凌霜/文山

Huang Xing/Keqiang 黄兴/克强

Jiang Kanghu 江抗虎

Jiang Kongyin 江孔殷

Jing Ke 荆轲

Jing Meijiu 景梅九

Jishan 寝山

"Ke Lao" (Zheng Peigang) 克劳

Kelupaotejin (Kropotkin) 克鲁泡特金

Kotoku Shusui 幸德球水

"Kuli" (Zheng Peigung) 苦力

Li Feigan (Bu Jin) 李芾甘

Li Jitang 李紀堂

Li Peiji 李沛基

Li Shizeng 李石曾

Li Xibin 李熙斌

Li Yingsheng 李應生

Li Zhisheng 李稚生

Li Zhen 李准

Liang Bingxian 梁冰弦

Liang Muguang 梁慕光

Liangbi 良弼

Liao Pingzi 廖平子

Lin Guansci 林冠慈

Lin Junfu 林君复

Lin Zhizhao 林直勉

Liu Baoshu (SF sister) 刘抱蜀

Liu Baozhen (SF brother) 刘抱真

Liu Bingchang (SF father) 刘秉常

Li Shaobin/Sifu/Shifu 刘绍彬/思复/师复

Liu Shipei 刘师培

Liu Shixin (SF brother) 刘石心

Liu Tianfang (SF sister) 刘天放

Liu Wudeng (SF sister) 刘无等

Liu Wuwei (SF sister) 刘无为

Long Jiguang 龙济光

Lu Shiqing 陆式卿

Mo Jipeng 莫纪彭

Nie Yinniang 聂隐娘

Osugi Sakae 大杉栄

Ou Shengbai 区生白

Pan Dawei 潘达微

Peng Jiaozhen 彭家珍

Qingquan 青权

Qiu Jin 秋瑾

Qiyun 椅云

Renshan 仁山

Sha Gan (Fensfen/Fenxia) 沙淦 (愤憤/憤慨)

Shen Zhongjiu 沈仲九

Shifu 师父

Shuangting 霜亭

Su Manshu 苏曼殊

Sun Zhongshan (Yixian/Yatsen) 孙中山 (逸仙)

Tai Xu (Lewu/Lu Gansen) 太虛 (乐无/呂澄森)

Tie Liang 铁良

Wang Jingwei 汪精卫

Wen Shengcai 温生财

Wu Yue 吴越

Wu Zhuhui 吴稚晖

Xie Yingbo 谢英伯

Xu Anzhen 徐安真

Xu Lunbo 许伦博

Xu Mulan 徐慕兰

Xu Qiwen 徐企文

Xu Zonghan 徐宗汉

Yamaga Taiji 山鹿泰治

Yang Dusheng 杨笃生

Yang Wenhui/Renshan 杨文会/仁山

Yin Ren 駁仁

Yizhou 意周

Yu Rang 豫让

Yuekong 月空

Zaifeng 藏沣

Zhang Ji 张津

Zhang Jingjiang 张静江

Zhang Liang 张良

Zhang Mingqi 张鸣岐

/hang Taryan/Binglin 章太炎/炳麟

/henbao 真宝

/heng Bi'an 郑彼岸

/heng Guangong 郑贯公

/heng Peigang 郑佩刚

“Zhengjing Xiansheng” 正经先生

Zhu Shutang 朱述堂

Zhu Zhixin 朱执信

Zongyang 宗仰

Names of organizations, publications, places, etc.:

Baiyun an 白云庵

Changshu 常熟

Dongfang ansha tuan 东方暗杀团

Dongfang Bao 东方报

Gansi dui 敢死队

“Fengyu Jisheng lu” 风雨鸡声录

Fojiao Sishi Hui 佛教私誓会

Fojiao Yuebao 佛教月报

Honghuagang 红花岗

Hongli wan 红荔湾

Huayan 华严

Huanghuagang 黄花岗

Huiming lu 虔鸣录

Huiming Xueshe 虔鸣学社

Jiangtian 江天

Jinhua 进化

Jinshan 金山

Jun She 均社

Kakumei Hyoron 革命评论

Liangxin 良心

Min Sheng 民声

Minzhong (Masses) 民众

Min Zhong (People's Bell) 民钟
Nantong 南通
Pingmin Bao 平民报
Pingmin Gongxue 平民公学
Rendao Zhoubao 人道周报
Shehui Dang 社会党
Shehui Shijie 社会世界
Shi She Ziyou Lu 実社自由录
Shijie yu 世界语
Shiqi 石岐
Shui lou 水楼
Tian tao 天讨
Tianyi Bao 天义报
Weishi 唯识
Wuzhengfu-Gongchanzhu yi Tongzhi She 无政府共产主义同志社
Xia tuan 侠团
Xiangshan (Zhongshan) xian 香山 中山 县
Xin She 心社
Xin Shiji 新世纪
Yanxia Dong 烟霞洞
Zhina ansha tuan 支那暗杀团
Zhongguo Shehui Dang 中国社会党
Ziyou Xue 自由血

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SHIFU

Soul of Chinese Anarchism

EDWARD S. KREBS

The most comprehensive study of Shifu available, this valuable work traces the life and political milieu of a central figure in Republican China. Born in 1882, Shifu was brought down in 1925 by overwork, poverty, and tuberculosis. Yet during his short span, he became the most influential anarchist of his time. Drawing on a wealth of primary source materials, Krebs provides an intellectual biography of this controversial revolutionary and anarchist. The importance of Shifu's thought during the May Fourth Movement, as his followers fought for influence within the Communist Party and later over the issue of alliance with the Nationalists, is also analyzed.

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Edward S. Krebs is an independent scholar and translator based in Georgia.

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